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ART. I.—BUENOS AYRES AND THE PAMPAS.

- 1.—*Rough Notes taken during some rapid Journeys across the Pampas and among the Andes.* By CAPT. F. B. HEAD. 12mo. pp. 264. Boston: 1827.
- 2.—*Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile.* By SAMUEL HAIGH. London: 1829.

No species of writing seems so well to adapt itself to the palate of every class of readers as well written travels. It is not a little remarkable, that this kind of composition is equally attractive to the philosopher and the trifler, the old and the young, the gay and the sedate, who all sit down to its perusal with eagerness, and rise with apparent satisfaction. We are unwilling to mispend time in exploring the sources whence this satisfaction flows, an inquiry which would be at once infructuous and irrelevant; since perhaps few of our literary enjoyments surpass those which spring "we know not why and care not wherefore." The earlier travellers enjoyed a distinguished consideration, as well as the adventurers in navigation; the wonderful improvements in which have opened almost every region under the sun to the examination of both, and our intellects and coffers have reaped a like advantage. Travelling and commerce are now multiplied to a prodigious extent; and as commercial profits may be realized by all, so the means of improving our knowledge of the habitable globe, is no longer confined to a "favoured and enlightened few." The press in our day teems with books of travels under the various titles of Journals, Tours, Views, Sketches, Rough Notes, &c. which are all readily bought up by our "great reading public," who find themselves thus enabled, with very little expense, and no hardships, to "travel at home, and perform voyages by their firesides." The writers seem to think,

"A book's a book altho' there's nothing in 't," whilst readers agree with Pliny, that "*nullum librum tam malum esse quam non ex aliqua parte prodesset.*"

Amongst the numerous works on the subject of South American affairs, which have been of late ushered into the world, the excellent Memoirs of General Miller, embracing a great deal of interesting matter concerning Buenos Ayres and Chile, seem to have revived the attention of the public to those important countries. A short time before the "Memoirs" appeared, Mr. Head, who had been sent from England to examine and make report concerning some of the mines of the United Provinces, published many curious particulars about the Pampas and the Andes. We are willing to excuse much of the inelegance and clumsiness which appear throughout these Rough Notes, in consideration of the fund of entertainment afforded, and because the urgent duties of the author obliged him, as he himself assures us, to ride upwards of six thousand miles against time. The Sketches of Mr. Haigh are posterior to the others, and although he tells us at starting, that his volume is not intended either as an historical, statistical, or political description of the countries he has seen, but merely the result of observations jotted down in his note book, and containing details of the various impressions left upon his mind, yet his observations are valuable, his descriptions spirited, and his style racy and agreeable. Indeed, without wishing to bestow too extravagant an eulogium, in reading his journey across the Pampas and Cordillera between Buenos Ayres and Chile, we were sometimes reminded of Horace's inimitable journey from Rome to Brundisium. As we purpose to confine our remarks principally to Buenos Ayres, we take great pleasure in recommending to the perusal of our readers both the volumes which stand at the head of this article, the limits of which will not permit us to do more than to make a few occasional extracts. But before we proceed to these, a brief review of some of the leading historical events of Buenos Ayres may not prove unacceptable.

In the year 1515, the Rio de La Plata* was discovered by Juan Dias de Solis, who was lured to the shore by the friendly demonstrations of the natives, and by them treacherously assassinated.† In 1526, Sebastian Cabot penetrated into the interior. He changed

* This river was called, originally, Paranaguazu, or Parana, by the natives. "Navegando este insigne nautico (De Solis) con Vincente Nãñez Pinzon, habia sido el primero que extendió velas Europeas, en el famoso rio llamado entonces Paranaguazu."—*Funes Hist. Civ.* tom. i. p. 2.

Ce fleuve s'appelle par les Indiens Paranaguazu, et ordinairement Parana, &c. —*Les Indes Occidentales par A. Herrera*, p. 75.

† Funes informs us, that De Solis, and his companions who ventured on shore with him, were actually devoured by the natives in sight of the launch.—*Ensayo de la Hist. Civ.* tom. i. p. 3.

the name of the river from De Solis, which it had taken from its discoverer, into that of De La Plata, or the river of Silver, fondly imagining, from some trinkets he found among certain of the savages whom he encountered on its banks, that mines of that metal would be discovered in the neighbourhood; and it is matter of regret, that an evident misnomer should have deprived the discoverer of an honour which he won at the expense of his life. The first attempts to settle this region were attended by great difficulties, and after the lapse of two centuries, there was no place of importance but Buenos Ayres. This town* was founded by Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, but was abandoned three years afterwards, and its inhabitants removed to the town of Assumption, in Paraguay. In 1580† it was rebuilt by the governor of Paraguay, from which time it gradually emerged from obscurity, and became the seat of the viceroyalty. In 1679, the Portuguese attempted a settlement on the north bank of the La Plata, when Garro, governor of the province of La Plata, by order of the viceroy of Peru, expelled them. In 1778, this settlement, which had long been in dispute, was ceded to Spain.

In 1586, the Jesuits made their first appearance. In 1609, Father Torrez obtained authority from the governor of the province to form the converted Indians into townships, independent of the Spanish settlements, and vast numbers were brought to habits of industry. But the Portuguese, who are doomed to be the neighbours and rivals of the Spaniards, both in the old and new world, constantly made incursions into their peaceful territories, and swept away great numbers. It is said, that upwards of two hundred thousand Indians were either slain or enslaved, and about four hundred towns destroyed in Paraguay and Buenos Ayres, within a hundred and thirty years, by the Mamelucos or Paulistas of Brazil.‡ To defend their territories, the

* Mendoza gave it the name of Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres, because of its healthy climate.—*Southey, Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 59. But we are told elsewhere, that the admiral of Mendoza's fleet, on escaping the foul smell of his ship and enjoying the pure air of the shore, exclaimed, "Que buenos ayres son estos!" and that thence the town derived its name.—*Dobrizhoffer*, i. 5.

† Its former name had been Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres: Garay, with a strange disrespect to the Virgin, altered its invocation, and called it La Trinidad de Buenos Ayres; long titles, whether of place or person, are always curtailed by the common sense and for the convenience of mankind; the one invocation is now as little remembered as the other, and Buenos Ayres is the name of the city. Some time afterwards, Garay was slain by the Indians; but the city began again to thrive, and the ship which sailed to Castile, to convey the tidings of its re-foundation, in 1580, took home a cargo of sugar, and the first hides with which Europe was supplied from the wild cattle, which now began to over-spread the open country, and soon produced a total change in the manners of all the adjoining tribes.—*Southey, Hist. Brazil*, vol. i. p. 348.

‡ For an account of the Mamelucos, see *Hist. Paraguay*, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, by Nicholas del Techo, a Jesuit. 4 Churchill's Travels, 757. And see Southey's *Hist. of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 300, et seq.: and Muratori's *Relation of the Missions of Paraguay*, p. 53.

Jesuits obtained authority from Spain, in 1639, to arm the Indians. In 1668 they rebuilt Santa Fé, and, in the following year, five hundred were employed in rebuilding Buenos Ayres. The prosperity of the Jesuits excited prejudices and jealousies at home, but all the charges preferred against them were found upon examination to be groundless, and their rights were confirmed in 1745. Their power, however, began soon after to decline, and the expulsion of their order from Spain, in 1767, was followed by the subversion of their domination in America. Their possessions were annexed to Paraguay, at which time they had 1,000,000 horn cattle, 100,000 horses, and 500,000 sheep. All writers agree as to the excellence of the Jesuits, and the beneficial influence they exercised over South America. They civilized by the cross and not by the sword. Their patriarchal exertions were always in behalf of the oppressed natives, and they may be regarded as the Moravians of South America. Indeed, the history of this order, in every part of the world, is marked by a great deal which is extraordinary, but their successful and kindly labours in South America have been the theme of universal eulogy. The minute and voluminous narratives which have been given to the world by their own writers, though replete with marvellous and incredible relations, surprising adventures, and pompous miracles, nevertheless contain a vast fund of useful history and information, which amply reward the reader.

It is astonishing under what various pretences the Jesuits acquired independent possession of such large tracts of country, and absolute dominion over such an immense number of people. They established a civil government in every village, after the model of the Spanish towns, the magistrates being chosen by the people, subject only to the approbation of the Father Jesuit, who resided in, and in reality governed the village. They drew from the people all the commodities and manufactures suitable for foreign commerce, which were vended by a commissary of their own appointing, and the returns in European goods were always made to, and distributed by them at their own pleasure. The churches they built in all the villages, most of which remain to this day, are distinguished for their taste and spaciousness, and for being elegantly adorned; and their houses were neat and commodious, and greatly superior to those of the Spaniards in comfort. When the Portuguese invaded them, they taught their subjects the use of arms, raised large bodies of well disciplined troops, and created magazines, well furnished with military stores. They, also, to prevent the manners of their disciples from being corrupted by communication with strangers, whether European or Indian, entirely excluded them from all intercourse, permitting none to intrude within the

limits of their missions, who might report either the strength or weakness of their condition, or penetrate into the mysteries of their polity.*

"Indications," says Mr. Haigh, "of the surprising industry and intelligence of this extraordinary sect, are to be met with all over Spanish America. The account of the astonishing obstacles they have surmounted in improving the cultivation and buildings of the country they have settled in, and in converting the native Indians, would fill a volume; and although their exertions tended principally towards increasing the dignity of their own body, which excited the jealousy of the Spanish court, yet I question whether their annihilation was conducive to the interests of the country at the period it occurred. Their intelligence and industry were the theme of universal praise, and certainly have not since been supplied."

The space allotted to this article will not permit us to give a continuous historical sketch of Buenos Ayres. We will, therefore, proceed as rapidly as possible with those events which are connected with the revolution which emancipated the colonies from the tyranny of Spain.

Since the discovery of America, the policy of the mother country had uniformly been unjust, and grinding to the last degree, both to the Aborigines and the Creoles. Originally, America was annexed to the crown of Spain, but entirely independent of the Spanish kingdom, and only connected with it by a mutual sovereign. Unhappily, the royal power was delegated by the sovereigns to the Council of the Indies, of which the king was president. This Council exercised the enormous patronage growing out of their viceregal authority, and were accordingly more interested in perpetuating than in extinguishing abuses. By the transfer, the government of America virtually vested in the people of Spain. The beneficent fundamental code of the Indies, which ought to have been the basis of colonial legislation, was quickly trampled under foot. This code had declared the Creoles eligible to all ecclesiastical benefices, and to the offices of trust, importance, and honour; but the laws enacted by the Council were selfish, despotic, and cruel, and, therefore, impolitic, and subversive of the rights and welfare of the colonists. A gloomy catalogue of wrongs and grievances grew out of these violations of the fundamental laws of the Indies. Commerce and agriculture were utterly prostrated, manufactures were suppressed, and all traffic, not only with other nations, but even amongst themselves, absolutely precluded. All honorary and political distinctions were carefully withholden. The Creoles were not only excluded *de facto*, but it was even seriously discussed in the Council of the Indies, during the last century, whether they should not also be excluded *de jure*, and pronounced incapable of filling any honourable office. Even as late as 1811, they were represented in the Cortez of Cadiz, as "a

* Juan & Antonio de Ulloa's South America, vol. ii. p. 170.

race of monkeys, full of vice and ignorance, and automata unworthy of representing or being represented." Out of one hundred and sixty viceroys who have governed America, only four have been natives. Out of six hundred and two captains-general, all except fourteen were Spaniards; and out of five hundred and fifty ecclesiastics of episcopal dignity, but fifty-five were natives.

The tyranny of colonial legislation was extended over even moral and intellectual culture. No science was allowed to be studied. Latin grammar, ancient philosophy, theology, civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and scholastic jargon, formed the utmost limits of their intellectual range. A nautical school, instituted at Buenos Ayres by the Board of Trade, was suppressed by orders from Spain. Under all these cruel oppressions, the loyalty of the Americans continued unshaken. When the provinces of the La Plata were invaded by the British, they implored the mother country to send them aid and succour: they were denied and neglected. The British were twice defeated by the Buenos Ayreans, without any assistance from Spain. Here was a propitious moment and a solid pretext for dissolving the political bands which connected them with Spain, but their fidelity and attachment were inflexible; and yet these heroic sacrifices and generous attachment of the colonies were acknowledged only by additional harshness, repeated injuries, and the most bitter injustice. The usurpations of Napoleon in the peninsula, and the captivity of the royal family, afforded them ample opportunities of release, but their loyalty at this period was carried to a length almost incredible. They made common cause with the Spanish monarchy. Upwards of \$9,000,000 were levied and forwarded from America. Many of the most distinguished youth crossed the Atlantic, and repaired to the standard of the imprisoned Ferdinand. Their veneration for the king, which was heightened by his misfortunes, was so great, that it was not uncommon with many to touch their hats whenever his name was mentioned. This loyalty seems to have been more an instinct than a sentiment; for what did they owe to Spain to call forth such gratitude and affection? "There is not," says Pazo, in his Letters, "a single work of public improvement, performed by the Spaniards, to be found;—no public roads, no bridges, no establishments of commerce, nor improvements of navigation. In this fine country, where nature is never idle, and where the choicest productions of the globe grow almost spontaneously, the hand of the Spaniard has never been employed, except in torturing the bowels of the earth for gold to satiate his avarice, or in oppressing the natives of the country to gratify his pride." But loyalty was now unavailing. There existed no longer any government in the peninsula; and it was not till this

crisis arrived, that they resolved to take upon themselves the care and responsibility of their own safety. Even this act, which had become so imperatively necessary, did not involve any disaffection, much less disloyalty, to Spain. It was merely provisional. The Junta was established on the model of those of Spain, and in the name of the captive Ferdinand.

About this time, the Princess Carlota, regent of Portugal, (the court of Lisbon having been transferred to the Brazils, in consequence of the encroachments of Napoleon in the peninsula,) as soon as her father and brother renounced their right to the Spanish crown, despatched emissaries to Buenos Ayres to assert her contingent claim, and to make arrangements for her residence in that capital, and her proposals were accepted with enthusiasm.* But this scheme was rendered abortive by the unexpected arrival of the Viceroy Cisneros, in May, 1809. Civil war, and a succession of barbarities without a parallel in the annals of history, followed upon the heels of this event. On the restoration of Ferdinand, they were declared to be in a state of mutiny. All the viceroys, governors, and generals, whom, on his return, he found carrying on the work of butchery, were confirmed. Requests and remonstrances were spurned from the foot of the throne, and prayers died away in the royal ear. With this dreadful picture before our eyes, and a recollection of the somewhat analogous circumstances which impelled us to a separation from Great Britain, the citizen of the United States will read with interest, and fully appreciate, the following language in the eloquent Manifesto of the United Provinces. "Neither so great nor so repeated were the hardships which roused the provinces of Holland, when they took up arms to free themselves from the yoke of Spain: nor those of Portugal to effect the same purpose. Less were the hardships which placed the Swiss under the direction of William Tell, and in open opposition to the German emperor. Less those which determined the United States of North America to resist the imposts forced upon them by a British king. Less, in short, the powerful motives which have urged other countries, not separated by nature

* "How far the manifesto (of the Princess) was circulated through the different provinces of South America," says Walton, "it is not easy to determine; though generally it is believed to have been partially confined to Buenos Ayres, from being nearest the Brazils. Be that as it may, the experiment had no effect, nor could any be expected; for besides the jealous eye with which the Spaniards view every thing done by the Portuguese, it was considered as an illegal interference; for though the persons of their royal sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his two brothers, were for ever wrested from them, their rights could not devolve to that branch of the family, as by the law of succession made in May 1703, and sanctioned by the Cortez, the female line is excluded as long as there is male issue to be found, and the crown would therefore devolve on Ferdinand of the Two Sicilies, son of the late Charles III."—*Walton's Spanish Colonies*, vol ii. p. 203.

from the parent state, to cast off an iron yoke and consult their own felicity."

After some political struggles, the Viceroy Cisneros was deposed, and on the 25th of May, 1810, a junta gubernativa composed of nine persons named. This is considered by them as the date of their revolution, and political regeneration. On the 23d of September, 1811, the junta gubernativa was dissolved, Saavedra the ex-president obliged to fly, and a triumvirate executive named, composed of Don Manuel Sarratea, Señor Chidana, and Dr. Juan José Pazo. In October, 1812, another change was effected by military violence; an executive styled *El Gobierno Superior* was established, composed of Señores Peña, Pazo, and Jonte, who were to call together an assembly of representatives of the people. On the 30th of January, 1813, a sovereign constituent assembly was convened at Buenos Ayres, the Spanish flag and cockade abolished, and the bi-coloured (blue and white) substituted. The coinage now bore the republican impress. On the 31st of December, 1813, the *Gobierno Superior* was abolished, and Señor Posadas elected Supreme Director, with a council of seven persons. Posadas was compelled to resign the Directorship in 1815, and General Alvear, who was placed in his stead, was soon coerced to fly. Rondeau succeeded, on the 16th of April, 1816, and a junta of observation was substituted for the sovereign constituent assembly. A national congress, fairly representing the whole people, was now established, and to do away the provincial jealousies against Buenos Ayres, it convened at the city of Tucuman, in the month of March, 1816, and on the 9th July following, the Declaration of Independence was at length solemnly made. On the same day, General Juan Martin Pueyrredon* became Supreme Director.

The government which had been so unstable, so shaken by factions, the dissensions of parties, and the ambitious designs of individuals, seemed now to have acquired solidity and permanence. The Declaration says,—

"We, the representatives of the United Provinces of South America, in general congress assembled, invoking the Supreme King who presides over the universe, in the name and by virtue of the authority of the people we represent, and protesting to Heaven, and to the nations and inhabitants of the whole globe, the justice by which our wishes are guided, do solemnly declare in the face of the earth, that it is the unanimous and indubitable will of these provin-

* See Gillespie's *Buenos Ayres*, p. 327, the concluding chapter of which gives a laudatory account of Pueyrredon's administration. "If North America," says Gillespie, "has cause to boast of a Franklin and a Washington as her first and stoutest champions, so has the South to exult in the enlightened Pueyrredon, and the gallant and modest San Martin; the former of whom has rescued his country from the ruins of convulsion, while the last has not only conquered her own freedom, but has diffused the blessing to a contiguous nation, who was unable to contend for the prize. Pueyrredon may well be entitled 'the Saviour of La Plata,' as San Martin has been stamped the Liberator of Chile."

ces to break the repugnant ties which bound them to the kings of Spain, to recover the rights of which they were despoiled, and invest themselves with the high character of a nation, free and independent of King Ferdinand VII., his successors, and the mother country. In consequence whereof, the said provinces, in point of fact and right, possess ample and full power to assume for themselves such forms of government as justice requires, and the urgency of existing circumstances may demand. All and each one of them publish, declare, and ratify the same thing through us, pledging themselves, under the assurance and guarantee of their lives, property, and honour, to abide by, and sustain this their will and determination. Let the same therefore be communicated for publication to whomsoever it may concern, and in consideration of the respect due to other nations, let the weighty reasons which have impelled us to this solemn declaration be detailed in a separate manifesto."

This document, which is evidently based upon and imitated from the Declaration of the United States, is signed by the twenty-nine members of congress, and is followed by the separate manifesto indicated by the document.

Soon after, the congress removed to the metropolis, but the jealousies subsisting between the different provinces, and between all the provinces and Buenos Ayres, did not permit them to realize the benefits which had been anticipated. Misrule and wild disorder continued to prevail. It is not, however, our intention to dwell upon the endless factions and intrigues, the successive usurpations of office, the sanguinary conflicts, the banishments, and the proscriptions which belong to this period of anarchy. Between the years 1819 and 1821, the provinces all withdrew their allegiance from the metropolitan government. Foreign agents and consuls, however, still resided in the capital, and all negotiations with foreign powers were carried on through this channel by the tacit consent of those provinces.

Martin Rodriguez was placed at the head of the government, and Bernardino Rivadavia, who has been called the William Pitt of South America, appointed secretary of foreign and home affairs. The new administration forthwith formed a provisional junta of thirteen members, four for the city, and nine for the provinces, and the most wise and salutary measures were effected; as security of persons and property—a general amnesty—religious toleration—extinction of monastic orders—liberty of the press—plans of education—and the formation of schools. Many youths of the first families were sent to the United States and England to be educated; a bank was established; scientific associations created; charitable institutions introduced; a civic police organized; the army reduced; and a system of general retrenchment adopted. The beneficial results of this administration were great and conspicuous. Commerce revived—the revenue increased—the population, which in 1817 had been about 60,000, in 1826 amounted to 100,000. Five hundred and eighty-three houses were built within four years. The seceding provinces spontaneously expressed a wish to send deputies to congress,

and the republic was recognised by the United States, Great Britain, and Portugal.

At this flourishing period, war broke out between Buenos Ayres and Brazil. In 1819, the Banda Oriental had been occupied by the Brazilians under an idle pretext, whilst the civil disturbances at Buenos Ayres did not permit the republic to make any opposition; but at the same time it was stipulated as the condition of non-interference, that the Portuguese should evacuate the Banda Oriental, as soon as the provincial dissensions should be amicably adjusted. Accordingly, during the administration of Rodriguez, this demand was made, and although the Orientales were eager to be incorporated with Buenos Ayres, and had repeatedly declared their wish for a reunion, it was evaded by the emperor Don Pedro under various pretences.

While these negotiations were pending, the patriotic Juan Lavalleja, a native of the Banda Oriental, collecting a party of thirty-two persons, crossed the La Plata, where he was soon joined by Fructoso Ribera. Thousands flocked to the standard, and soon after the decisive victory of Sarandi almost annihilated the imperialists, and Lavalleja became governor of the Banda Oriental. A junta was immediately convoked; and on the 25th of October, the Banda Oriental was annexed to the Argentine Federation. On the 10th of December, 1825, the Emperor Don Pedro declared war, and on the 3d of January, 1826, Buenos Ayres did the same. On the 7th of February, Rivadavia was elected president of the republic, General Las Heras, the successor of Rodriguez, vacated his seat, and Don Julian Segundo de Aguerro was appointed secretary. The provinces entered into the spirit of the war, and furnished their contingents with great alacrity. The gallant Brown was created admiral, and the "sea-like Plata" became the scene of the most brilliant exploits. Don Pedro manifested great reluctance to give up the Banda Oriental, which appeared to form the natural boundary of his empire. Manuel Garcia, who was sent to Rio to negotiate a treaty by Rivadavia, supposed to be under the influence of the British embassy, was induced to exceed his instructions, and took upon himself to cede the Banda Oriental to Brazil, but the treaty was rejected by Rivadavia and the congress. The president suffered great blame, and was obliged to resign. Soon after, the battle of Ituzaingo, gained by the Buenos Ayreans, May 21st, 1827, and the constant defeats which the imperialists experienced in the war, compelled the court of Rio Janeiro to enter into articles of agreement, by which it was stipulated that the Brazilians should evacuate the Banda Oriental, which, after a designated period, should be at liberty to determine whether it would become a part of the Brazilian empire, reunite with Buenos Ayres, or adopt an independent government. Rivadavia

and all his ministers resigned ; congress dissolved ; each of the provinces again became independent ; and Colonel Manuel Dorrego was elected governor of the province and city of Buenos Ayres.

All that seemed necessary now to the re-establishment of harmony and happiness to this distracted country, was the formation of a consolidated government, which should meet the views and wishes of all parties. The new governor was known to be favourable to the adoption of a form similar to that of the United States of North America ; but the number and virulence of the factions into which the republic was split, conspired to render a satisfactory settlement an almost hopeless undertaking. The former administration could not brook the disgrace of their recent ejection from power ; disappointment continued to rankle in their bosoms, and at last drove them into the terrible expedient of overturning the new government by military force. The plan was concocted secretly, under the auspices of Rivadavia and Aguerro, and the agent chosen by them to accomplish their nefarious scheme, was Lavallé, who had been promoted to the rank of general for his conduct in the battle of Ituzaingo, and at this moment had the command of a large body of troops stationed in the vicinity of the city. Accordingly, on the morning of the 1st of December, 1828, Lavallé entered Buenos Ayres with his army, and presented himself before the fort, of which he demanded the surrender.

In the mean time, Colonel Dorrego, with a few officers of his staff, having received an intimation of what was about to take place, and anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, which a defence of the fort would necessarily cause, fled from the city. A tumultuous assembly of the citizens was called together in the cathedral, at which Lavallé caused himself to be proclaimed governor ; the fort was then surrendered, and after making the necessary arrangements, he immediately went in pursuit of Dorrego. A short time after, Dorrego was defeated, and took refuge in a fort commanded by Colonel Estomba, by whom he was treacherously made prisoner, and delivered into the hands of Lavallé, who indulged him with but one hour's respite, at the expiration of which, without any form of trial, or reason assigned, he was led forth and shot ; and his murderer, in a very laconic epistle, written after the occasion, had the effrontery to appeal to posterity for the rectitude of his motives.

After this event, the minds of the conflicting factions were wound up to the highest pitch of exasperation. Civil war assumed its darkest features, and scenes of blood and desolation were presented, which it would be tiresome to describe, and disgusting to read. It was early understood, that every prisoner taken was to be shot, and retaliation followed as the natural con-

sequence. The usurpation commanded all foreigners to bear arms in defence of the city, and the Montoneros had placards secretly distributed in various parts of Buenos Ayres, declaring that every foreigner who took up arms, should be made to drink molten lead. The Americans and English, however, obstinately persisted in refusing to take any part in the unnatural struggle. Colonel Mesa, one of the principal commanders of the outside party, had been taken prisoner, and in accordance with the barbarous rule of extermination adopted, was adjudged to die. The writer of this article was present at his execution. On the day appointed, at the hour of ten o'clock, the unfortunate victim was led forth into the public square, amidst an immense concourse of citizens, between two priests, and escorted by a large body of troops. A platform had been erected, which was to be the theatre of his previous degradation. As soon as he mounted, his military hat, coat, and sword, were put upon him, and immediately afterwards rudely taken off and trampled under foot; he then descended with a firm step, and an unblenched countenance, and took his seat upon a small bit of board, nailed to a post, on which he was to be shot. He was unwilling to have the bandage placed before his eyes, but his arms were pinioned to the post, to prevent his tumbling to the earth after death. The troops were drawn up in a hollow square. Every thing was ready. Profound silence reigned. At the first signal, a platoon of blacks marched rapidly from the ranks, and stood with presented carbines within a few feet of their victim. At the second signal, the muzzles fell so as almost to touch the body, and at the same moment their deadly contents were poured into his bosom. As soon as the smoke passed away, the corpse of Mesa was seen, completely blackened by the powder, his ghastly head drooped to one side, and the chest swollen to an unnatural size by the inward discharge of blood. Colonel Mesa bore the character of a good, as well as a brave man, and he met his fate like a hero. His person was fine and commanding, and his features noble. There was nothing studied in his death—no affectation of indifference—no disgusting levity. He died like one deeply impressed with the seriousness of the occasion, gave all his attention to the consolations of the priests, and kissed the crucifix with great devotion.

It would detain us too long to dwell minutely upon the tragical events which mark every step of this civil war. Rivadavia and Aguerro found their pupil too fiery and intractable for their management, and were compelled to seek their personal safety by flight. The city was regularly besieged—its capture by storm daily expected—and the inhabitants reduced to a situation which can never be forgotten by those who had the misfortune to witness its horrors. Lavallé was each day

becoming more an object of disgust, even to his own party; his officers were gradually abandoning him, and all classes panted for the restoration of peace. In spite of all which had occurred, Lavallé had the address to enter into secret articles of pacification with the commander-in-chief of the Montoneros, General Juan Manuel Rosas, and a few days afterwards, the two leaders entered Buenos Ayres together. An assembly of the citizens was convoked, Lavallé resigned, and General Viamont was duly elected governor, in the month of August, 1829.

By advices from Buenos Ayres, of July 20, 1830, we learn that great anxiety prevailed with regard to the movements of General Paz. That distinguished individual had been sent by Lavallé with a body of fine troops to subdue the refractory provinces of the North; the most signal success crowned his arms; and after Lavallé's resignation, and the accession of General Viamont with the Federal party, General Paz may now be considered as the head and chief support of the Unitarians. The party of the Unitarios may be said, indeed, to embrace the major part of the wealth and talent of the nation, and it is confidently believed, that the government must ultimately fall back into their hands. Until this event, every thing will remain, in all probability, in its present agitated and precarious condition, and that it will be brought about in a bloodless manner is extremely problematical.

Before we close the historical part of our inquiries, we must be permitted to recur to that portion of the history of Buenos Ayres, which relates to the two British invasions—the first under Sir Home Popham and General Beresford—the second under Generals Whitelock and Crawford.

"The sudden and hasty attack of Sir Home Popham and General Beresford upon Buenos Ayres," says Haigh, "called this part of the world into particular notice in England, in 1806. The expedition under General Whitelock, to secure the conquest of the place, and which terminated so unfortunately in consequence of the incapacity of its leader, tended to tarnish the glory of the British arms, and our banners captured on that occasion are still to be seen hanging in the church of St. Domingo, presenting (to an English eye) melancholy mementos of that disastrous defeat."

It was a favourite project of Pitt to promote the emancipation of South America, and to open a trade with that country. The British ministry aided Miranda in his unsuccessful expeditions in 1801 and 1806. It is said, that during Adams's administration, the ministry made proposals to our government to assist the Spanish colonies, which did not meet a favourable reception.* In 1806, Spain being in alliance with France, the English fitted out a squadron under Sir Home Popham, which en-

* There was an understanding between our government and Great Britain, in 1798. See a letter from Alexander Hamilton to General Miranda, dated August 22d, 1798: *Brackenridge*, vol. ii. p. 105.

tered the La Plata, on the 25th of June, and anchored twelve miles below Buenos Ayres, where they disembarked the troops.* Meeting little opposition, General Beresford entered and took possession of the capital. Pueyrredon was the only officer who actively opposed the English. The viceroy escaped to Monte Video, and Liniers, a French emigrant and officer in the Spanish service, excited the people to arms. The viceroy collected troops and joined Liniers, who took command. They recrossed the La Plata, and, joined by the inhabitants, soon compelled the English to surrender, 12th of August, 1806. Reinforcements arriving from the Cape of Good Hope, enabled Popham to take Monte Video by storm. After this, two squadrons, each with a large body of troops, one commanded by Whitelock, the other by Crawford, were fitted out to capture Buenos Ayres. Crawford was then to go round the Horn and take Valparaiso; and to secure these conquests, military posts were to be established from Buenos Ayres to Valparaiso, the object of the ministry now being to subjugate the country.

On the 10th of May, Whitelock arrived at Monte Video, and on the 25th of June, General Crawford. The former assumed the command of ten thousand of the best English troops. At Buenos Ayres the viceroy was deposed, and Liniers, appointed to the supreme command, made all preparation to defend the capital. Every avenue to the city was defended by breastworks of hides, fifteen or twenty feet thick. Small pieces of artillery were planted on the houses, which became fortresses, and all the citizens armed. The British presented themselves before the city, and commenced the attack on the 5th of July. The cannon mounted on the trenches which intersected the streets, poured a destructive fire of grape-shot on the advancing columns, while from the roofs and windows, they received an incessant discharge of musketry, bombs, and hand-grenades. The column under General Auchmuty, which entered the upper part of the city, after a most bloody conflict, took possession of a large building appropriated to bull fights; and that of Crawford, at the south, after losing one-half of its numbers, took shelter in a large church, where they finally were obliged to surrender. In this capitulation, they were to evacuate the La Plata in two months, and Monte Video, which had been gallantly stormed and taken under Sir Samuel Auchmuty, was also yielded up. This second repulse of the English (which may be compared to that at New-Orleans) let the Buenos Ayreans into the secret of their real strength, and taught them, that by union they were equal to resist a large European army. If Great Britain had pursued a wise policy, she never would have attempted

* Bonnycastle's *Spanish America*, vol. ii. p. 159.

Buenos Ayres, but confined herself to Monte Video, the key of the La Plata, and which, from its position and strength, might have become the Gibraltar of the eastern coast of South America. Indeed, the manner in which Monte Video was given up was a cause of astonishment to all parties. Mr. Mawe, the mineralogist, who was a sort of attaché to this second British expedition, says, "The restoration of Monte Video was the stipulation most to be regretted, for every principle of good policy required us to keep that town to the last extremity; nay, some of the best informed among the Spaniards were of opinion, that our army should have been contented with the possession of the north side of the Plata, without venturing any farther, because we should thus have commanded the trade of the interior, and Buenos Ayres would, in the end, have found it necessary to come to terms of accommodation highly to our advantage."*

The manner of landing at Buenos Ayres is thus described by Mr. Haigh:—

"As it was low water, the boat could only approach to within a quarter of a mile of the shore, and I was much struck by the curious mode of landing. A number of light carts, drawn by two horses, one with a wild looking Indian on his back, approached the boat for the passengers. The rickety state of these vehicles, which are composed of cane, and open at the bottom, exposes the occupant to a soaking before he reaches the shore; and as he is dragged slowly through the water to the beach, he bears more resemblance to a criminal on the eve of making his exit from this world, than a traveller about to enter a great capital."

The river of Plate, which is about thirty miles wide opposite Buenos Ayres, is generally shallow, and abounds with shoals, which render its navigation very difficult and hazardous. After a heavy Pampero, the bottom of the river is oftentimes laid bare to a great distance from the shore, by the violence of the hurricane. We were informed, that a few years ago, a vessel was captured by a body of cavalry, on the spot where, forty-eight hours before, she had been gallantly riding at anchor. Major Gillespie, who accompanied the British expedition under General Beresford, also tells us, "The *Justinia* of twenty-six guns, being lightened, was manned with officers and a hundred seamen from the squadron, beside her own crew. On the day of our surrender she was well fought, and by her guns impeded all the movements of the Spaniards, not only along the beach, but in the different streets they occupied, which were also exposed to them. She offers a phenomenon in military events, that of a ship having been boarded and taken by cavalry, at the close of the 12th of August, from a sudden fall in the river."†

The city of Buenos Ayres, situated on the west side of the

* Mawe's Travels, p. 45.

† Gleanings and Remarks concerning Buenos Ayres, pp. 35. 94.

La Plata, in some of its features reminds us of the city of Philadelphia, situated on the west side of the Delaware. Both are badly located in regard to commerce; the sites of both seem to have been determined by the only elevated ground which appears along the whole line of their left shores, and they are nearly equidistant from the ocean. In the original plan of Philadelphia, it was contemplated to leave an open space betwixt the city and the water, but this was unfortunately neglected. In Buenos Ayres it has been done, and it facilitates business, and contributes vastly to the appearance and comfort of the place. From this, the principal promenade (Alameda), may be seen the numerous shipping, moored in the inner and outer roadsteads, and the multitudes of natives and foreigners who continually throng the beach, from motives of recreation or business, literally make "a most living landscape." The streets are also laid out as in Philadelphia, the east and west intersecting the north and south at right angles. But here the general resemblance ceases, and the rest of the picture furnishes nothing to carry out the similitude. The houses low, the numerous turrets rising from their flat roofs (azoteas), the gloomy style of architecture, half military, half monastic, and the ruinous and dilapidated appearance of the buildings, (which is to be attributed to the perishable character of the materials, which crumble into premature decay,) are phenomena sufficient to give the mind of a stranger impressions of discomfort, which an increased acquaintance with the place is by no means calculated to efface. The houses are of bricks, (exceedingly large, rough, and friable,) whitewashed, quadrangular, and with spacious areas (patios) in the centre, paved with bricks or flags, and sometimes tessellated. Into this patio you enter through a huge gothic portal, from the street, and behold the grated windows of the apartments, which constantly remind one of a gaol. From the first patio, you enter, by a gloomy arched way, into a second, and thence commonly into a third, which latter differ in little except being appropriated to the more ordinary uses of the domestic establishment, and are accordingly less ornamented and far more unclean than the first. If the exterior be forbidding and repulsive, the interior is cheerless and comfortless in the extreme. The walls, from the dampness of the climate, are discoloured and covered with mould. The floors are paved with large bricks, which break and fitter beneath the tread. The roofs are without ceilings, and the joists and rafters are curtained and festooned by the unmolested labours of innumerable spiders.

"The churches," says Mr. Haigh, "are large and gloomy on the outside, and the walls of most of them are overgrown on the tops with long grass and weeds."

The decayed appearance of these enormous piles conveys a

tolerably just idea of the waning grandeur of Catholicism. At the period of the revolution, when liberal notions began to be diffused, and the scales fell from men's eyes, it was impossible to view unmoved the many abuses in religion which their former devotedness could not discern, or the vast power of the church left them no hopes of correcting; and the freethinkers in politics very soon became freethinkers in religion. Its glory is now departed, the nerve and muscle of its power are gone, and this once gorgeous and potent religion presents at this time nothing but the skeleton of its former magnificence and strength. The stranger whom curiosity impels to visit their churches, beholds this decline, even in the devotees who throng the sanctuary, the aged and infirm, the diseased in mind and the diseased in body, the women who go from habit, and the children in their innocency, and sometimes even in the malignant and scowling features of the "wretch of undivulged crimes," whom the still small voice of conscience drives thither, in the vain hope "to cleanse the full bosom of that perilous stuff" "which weighs upon the heart."

The churches, during the Spanish domination, abounded profusely in gold and silver ornaments; but in the long and expensive revolutionary struggles, they were quite dismantled and drained, maugre the anathemas which were fulminated against such as should be sacrilegious enough to infringe the sanctity of "Holy mother church." The interior of their fanes, their altars and images, are still brilliant and glittering, but it is the glitter of tinsel, not gold. The churches, which are very numerous, all have an extraordinarily antique look, owing to the grass, weeds, and mosses, with which they are covered. Even peach trees, bearing fruit, are to be seen on the tops of several, in places accessible only to birds, and owe their origin to causes which at first sight are not very obvious. In the summer season, the immense clouds of dust, which are constantly rising into the atmosphere, have, in the lapse of many years, converted all the platforms on the tops of the buildings into terraces, with soils of considerable depth, and some of the peach stones, thrown by the boys at the pigeons, and other "temple haunting" birds, have taken growth, and present the stranger with this curious spectacle.

But the Recoleta church and convent, about a league from the city, deserves the attention of the stranger; not on account of its superior magnificence, but chiefly because of the extensive grounds formerly belonging to them, and which are at this day laid out as the cemetery of the city. This burial place is, perhaps, one of the most interesting objects in or about Buenos Ayres. It is very spacious, disposed in wide and beautiful walks, ornamented with trees, and surrounded by a high wall. Throughout this domain of death, the eye is fatigued in surveying the

vast number of monuments and tombstones, and the mind bewildered in endeavouring to trace their various quaint, emphatic, and solemn inscriptions. It may justly be called the Pere la Chaise of Buenos Ayres.

Among the numberless inscriptions, all commencing "Aquí yace," or "Here lies," is one dedicated to a young man, named Alvarez, and followed by these remarkable words, "assassinado por sus tres amigos," "murdered by his three friends." The tale is a sad one, and will long be remembered in Buenos Ayres. Our readers will be content with the following outline of the circumstances. Alzaga, Ariaga, and Marcet, were three young men of the best families in Buenos Ayres; they were fashionable, extravagant, and dissipated. Alvarez became intimate with them, not from his rank in life, but in consequence of his having made sufficient money in trade to enable him to live expensively. By them he was introduced into society, and initiated into all the mysteries of dissipation. Extravagance and gambling had embarrassed the three former beyond the hope of extrication, and they conceived, planned, and executed the horrible scheme of murdering their companion Alvarez, who was known to have a large sum of money in his possession. Several months elapsed from the conception of this crime, till their plans reached maturity, during which long interval, a daily intercourse was kept up with their victim. In the mean time, a house had been hired in an obscure quarter of the city, and on an evening appointed, Alvarez was invited thither, upon some plausible pretext. Unconscious of danger, he cheerfully consented, and was conducted to the place by Ariaga. Arriving at the house, he was surprised to find every thing gloomy and silent, and refused to proceed, till hearing the voice of his friend Marcet, to whom he was greatly attached, he was reassured, and bounded up the stairs with alacrity. As soon as he entered the apartment, which was dimly lighted by a single taper, Alzaga locked the door and secured the key. The most dreadful suspicions were now awakened in his mind, but as soon as he was informed that he must deliver the key of his store, and be instantly put to death by their hands, he fell upon his knees, and in the bitter agony of his heart, besought them to spare his life. He assured them, that he would readily give them every thing he had in the world. If they would only suffer him to live, he would bind himself by the most solemn oaths to bury for ever the dreadful secret of their intentions; he would fly to the remotest part of the globe, whithersoever they might require, and pass the remnant of his life in eternal exile from his country. Marcet alone was moved by this appeal. He conjured his companions to spare the life of their friend, and to proceed no farther in the awful business. But the monsters, Alzaga and

Ariaga, were inexorable. Marcet was menaced with death if he withheld his aid, and the miserable Alvarez sunk into a swoon. During this state of insensibility, his throat was cut from ear to ear, and the blood received into a basin, which had been provided for the purpose. The corpse was then placed in a vehicle, and conveyed to a quinta (country-seat) belonging to the father of Ariaga, where it was thrown into a deep well, and Alzaga and Ariaga returned to town and secured the money of their victim. Marcet became the prey of melancholy, whilst the two former resumed their accustomed pursuits, and proceeded to lavish in new modes of profligacy, the gains of this deed of unexampled wickedness. But murder cannot be concealed; a train of suspicions very soon after led to a full development, and Ariaga and Marcet were condemned to die. They were shot in the public plaza, and their bodies exhibited on a gibbet. The fate of Alzaga is even more terrible. He escaped and fled to Santa Fé, where he soon became insane, and the murderer, now a maniac, still wanders about the country, an awful monument and lesson of human depravity and the punishment of heaven. Such is the story which explains the inscription on the tomb of the ill-fated Alvarez, "assassinado por sus tres amigos."

"Of late years," says Mr. Head, "a few of the principal persons have been buried in coffins, but generally the dead are called for by a black hearse, in which there is a fixed coffin, into which they are put, when away the man gallops with the corpse, and leaves it in the vestibule of the Recoleta. There is a small vehicle for children, which I really thought was a mountebank's cart. It was a light open tray, on wheels painted white, with light blue silk curtains, and driven at a gallop by a lad dressed in scarlet, with an enormous plume of white feathers in his cap. As I was riding home one day, I was overtaken by this cart, (without its curtains, &c.,) in which there was the corpse of a black boy, nearly naked. I galloped along with it some distance; the boy, from the rapid motion of the carriage, was dancing sometimes on his back, and sometimes on his face; occasionally his arm or leg would get through the bar of the tray, and two or three times I really thought he would have been out of the tray altogether."

"I went one day to the Recoleta," says Head, "and just as I got there the little hearse drove up to the gate. The man who had charge of the burial place, received from the driver a ticket, which he read and put into his pocket. The driver then got into the tray, and taking out a dead infant, of about eight months old, he gave it to the man, who carried it, swinging by one of its arms, into the square walled burial ground, and I followed him. He went to a spot about ten yards from the corner, and then, without putting his foot upon the spade, or at all lifting up the ground, he scratched a place not so deep as the furrow of a plough. While he was doing this, the poor little infant was lying before us on the ground on its back; it had one eye open, and the other shut, its face was unwashed, and a small piece of dirty cloth was tied round its middle; the man, as he was talking to me, placed the child in the little furrow, pushed its arms to its side with the spade, and covering it so barely with earth that part of the cloth was still visible, he walked away and left it."

"The great square of the city," says Mr. Haigh, "is large and handsome, with an obelisk in the centre, protected on the river side by a fort, which, though of no great strength, has a handsome appearance, but was originally intended to protect the town from the Pampas Indians."

This plaza occupies about as much ground as two of the Philadelphia blocks or squares. The fort occupies a space equal to about one half of the plaza. This great plaza is divided into two parts by an immense arcade, parallel to the fort, and extending across the whole area. The lower part of the arcade is appropriated to slop-shops; the building is finely situated, and produces quite an architectural effect. Besides the fort, many other public buildings, such as the Cabildo, Casa de justicia, Policia, and the great Cathedral, (yet unfinished,) with its twelve apostolic columns of the Doric order, and of gigantic proportions, all present their fronts on this square. Here the troops are reviewed, here criminals are shot, and often has it been drenched with the blood of the citizens who have fallen in civil broils, or by the knife of the assassin. Eight of the principal streets, like arteries, empty into this plaza, which may be called the heart of the city. In the late civil war, on all occasions of sudden alarm, artillery brought forth from the fort were placed at these avenues, and the citizens in arms flocked tumultuously to the plaza.

The fort is capable of containing four or five thousand troops, and is abundantly supplied with all the munitions and necessities of war. It is the residence of the governor, and contains many of the principal offices of the state. Indeed, it may be observed, that all the trappings of this government are essentially military, and of consequence anti-republican; and yet they vaunt their republicanism, and profess to imitate the government of the United States. Many intelligent citizens regard the existence of this fort as baneful, as tending to keep up, not only the show, but the reality of despotism. And accordingly, we find in the sanguinary civil wars with which the history of this Republic is replete, that it has always been the chief bone of contention, the object of every faction being to secure this strong hold, and thus the reins of government pass with wonderful celerity from one hand to another, whenever an ambitious leader arises with machiavelism or force sufficient to accomplish his object. The occupation, when gained, at once throws the successful party into an attitude of hostility with all the other factions. This usurped authority can be maintained only by undue severity, till a new faction enters upon the stage, and similar scenes are re-enacted. Thus the country lies torn and bleeding, and thus it would seem it must ever remain, till this mischievous fortress be abated, a military police converted into a civil one, and every thing military in the administration totally abolished. The Buenos Ayrean, who has rarely known any governor except a military commander, is surprised when he hears that the President of the United States travels in citizen's dress, without parade, and often unknown; that soldiers are never stationed

in our churches, our theatres, or our legislative halls, and that stranger or native may travel from one end of the Union to the other, without ever being called upon for a passport; in short, he is unable to comprehend the *rationale* of our government, which seems, like the atmosphere we breathe, to give life, and health, and happiness, while, at the same time, it is neither seen nor felt.

There are several other plazas in the city and suburbs, which are appropriated as market places. Beef is the great article of food, and in good times it is astonishingly cheap. Four or five hundred head of cattle are said to be necessary for the daily consumption of the city. They are truly a carnivorous people. It is curious enough, to see the rations of beef, in huge chumps, served out to the soldiers, often without bread, vegetables, or even salt. "Carne con cuero," or beef with the hide, is a dish peculiar to this country, and esteemed a luxury. It is the flesh lying along the whole length of the spine, on both sides, cut out with a sufficient portion of the hide to lap over so as to be sewed up close, and then roasted in the embers. Veal is never to be seen, as they do not allow cattle to be killed till full grown, on account of the hides. A prepared hide is worth four times as much as a live bullock, in consequence of the expense of killing, and labour of drying them. Until within a very few years, mutton was not considered a comestible; its use, however, has been introduced by the Americans, English, and other foreigners, and it is now always to be found in market. Sheep were so valueless, formerly, that it was no unusual thing to cast them alive into the kilns as fuel; but this barbarous practice has been done away, since mutton has become an article of consumption. The pork being allowed to feed on the flesh and offals of oxen, is truly detestable. Poultry for the same reason is bad; even the eggs often have a disgusting flavour derived from this source. Fish are scarce and dear. Various kinds of game are occasionally met with. The iguana, or great lizard, and the ostrich, are esteemed. Vegetables and fruit are also in great variety and profusion. In the public eating houses, *fondas*, and *posadas*, a diversity of soups and dishes are prepared in the Spanish, French, and Italian styles, to suit the multifarious tastes of customers. It should be observed, however, that the Buenos Ayreans, who are naturally indolent, are generally quite indifferent about the quality of their provisions, and bestow no more labour on their productions than is barely sufficient to make them marketable. Hence it is, that even their horses, (so cheap that a good animal for the saddle may be bought for from three to five dollars,) are wild unbroken creatures, and would be wholly unmanageable without the tremendous curbs they employ. The great scarcity of provisions during the late revolution, and the unwholesome

diet to which they were impelled, generated several disorders, which proved very fatal amongst the common people; and when the city was invested, there was absolutely nothing to be had in market. The public eating houses very often had not a single article to set upon their tables, nor would any price command fresh provisions. Every thing intended for the city was intercepted by the Montoneros, who closely beleaguered the place. Many persons just arrived from long sea voyages, who, "cabin'd, crib'd, confin'd," had impatiently longed for the recreations of shore and change of diet, were fain to return on ship-board to their rough provand.

In more peaceable times, however, it is amusing to see the Montonero and Gaucho boys galloping over the town to vend the different articles, as milk, eggs, fruit, &c., which they bring on horseback. The milk is carried in tin canisters or earthen jugs, in panniers fastened to the saddles by thongs of hide. As soon as they have disposed of their commodities, these precocious urchins, with their red caps and grotesque dresses, effect their retreat home very leisurely in groups, their horses in contact, and they sitting sideways, and gambling away with each other the profits of the morning.

The public square, used as a slaughtering ground, is thus described by Mr. Head.

"This latter spot was about four or five acres, and was altogether devoid of pasture; at one end of it there was a large corral, enclosed by rough stakes, and divided into a number of pens, each of which had a separate gate. These cells were always full of cattle doomed for slaughter. The ground in every direction was covered with groups of white gulls, some of which were earnestly pecking at the slops which they had surrounded, whilst others were standing upon their tip-toes, and flapping their wings as if to recover their appetite. Each slop of blood was the spot where a bullock had died; it was all that was left of his history, and pigs and gulls were rapidly consuming it. Early in the morning no blood was to be seen: a number of horses, with their lassos hanging to their saddles, were standing in groups apparently asleep: the mataderos (carnificers) were either sitting or lying on the ground, close to the stakes of the corral, and smoking segars, while the cattle, without metaphor, were waiting till the last hour of their existence should strike; for as soon as the clock of the Recoleta struck, the men all vaulted on their horses, the gates of all the cells were opened, and in a very few seconds there was a scene of apparent confusion which it is quite impossible to describe. Every man had a wild bullock at the end of his lasso; some of these animals were running away from the horses, and some were running at them; many were roaring, some were hamstringing and running about on their stumps; some were killed and skinned, while occasionally one would break the lasso. The horse would often fall upon his rider, and the bullock endeavour to regain his liberty, until the horseman at full speed caught him with the lasso, tripping him off the ground in a manner that might apparently break every bone in his body. I was more than once in the middle of this odd scene, and was really sometimes obliged to gallop for my life, without exactly knowing where to go, for it was often Scylla and Charybdis."

The streets are narrow, remarkably filthy, and as you approach the environs, unpaved. The side walks are so contracted as rarely to admit two persons to travel abreast, and even this

limited space is interrupted by the exposure of wares and merchandises before the shop doors. Each foul and nasty thing is cast into the middle of the street, which thus becomes the receptacle of every civic and domestic abomination. The ways are farther obstructed by sloughs or mud-puddles (*pantanas*), caused by the settling of water after rains, in a soft clayey soil. It is in consequence of these *pantanas* that the wheels of all sorts of vehicles are of such enormous dimensions. In these gulfs our wagons would be quickly swamped. Their teams are usually composed of oxen. The front pair, by means of traces thirty or forty feet in length, are enabled to flounder through the mire and reach the opposite side, where their whole strength can be put forth in the extrication of the wagon. Without such precautions and facilities, the roads would be impassable. In the late civil war, when all communication with the country was cut off, thousands of horses perished for want of food, and the spectacle of their dead bodies (which, by the way, is no unusual thing at all times) was presented in every part of the city. Every horse that was fit for service was seized by government for the use of the army, and the rest were turned adrift to die, and be devoured by lean and famine-clung dogs, who were to be seen, day and night, "gorging and growling o'er carcass and limb." It is, moreover, a well known fact, that many of the half-famished people of the lower classes, were driven by the pangs of hunger to partake of the same disgusting repast. The carcasses of all animals are here allowed to moulder away without removal; but of this it is to be said, that putrefaction in this country is not accompanied by that offensiveness which usually springs from carrion, animal decay being dry, rapid, and inodorous.

The population of Buenos Ayres is estimated at a hundred thousand souls, of which about one-fourth are negroes. In the army, the infantry are wholly composed of blacks. These regiments have always been distinguished in battle for their firmness and gallantry. Their discipline is very exact, and they are commanded by white officers. The very great number of military characters, tricked out in the gorgeous habiliments of their profession; the gloomy and peculiar vestments of the priests and friars; the outré and parti-coloured dresses of the natives; the multitudes of foreigners, naval officers and seamen; merchants, supercargoes, and non-descripts of all nations; the richly attired ladies; the ragged groups of importunate mendicants; the strange figures galloping on horseback; the uncouth and groaning wagons with towering wheels; together with the babel of sounds emitted from this confused and motley mass, and the ceaseless ding dong of the church bells, create a "confusion worse confounded," of which no language can convey any adequate idea.

As a place of residence, especially in the summer season, Buenos Ayres is the *ne plus ultra* of discomfort. The immense clouds of dust, the extreme subtlety and tenuity of which enable it to penetrate the least apertures, and keep it always suspended, almost choke respiration, fill the ears, the eyes, and the hair, begrime the face and the clothes, and indeed bronze every thing with their perpetual depositions. It is no exaggeration to say, that even in reading a book, it is often necessary to blow away its accumulations before turning a leaf. To the quantity and pernicious quality of this dust, with which the atmosphere is perpetually charged, is attributed the great number of blind persons to be found in Buenos Ayres, its noisomeness being enhanced by the presence of saltpetre, with which the soil is copiously impregnated. The prevalence of this species of dirt, (in a great degree unavoidable,) and the general uncleanness observable in every department of the household economy, are highly favourable to the increase of all manner of domestic vermin. Accordingly, rats and cockroaches, snails and scorpions, spiders and fleas, bedbugs and mosquitos, ants, beetles, flies, and vampires,* revel through the mansions of the rich and poor in exhaustless myriads. From these minute but successful mariners of human felicity, there is neither defence nor escape. You may, indeed, have mosquito-nets, but "*quid te exempta juvat spinis e pluribus una?*" The blessings of slumber can only be enjoyed here during the hot months in broken intervals and feverish naps, and every moment of rest may be said to be literally snatched from these tormenting animalcules, and even then it is always at the expense of being "stung like a tench." In the winter season, the dampness and chilliness of the air are very distressing; sugar and salt are always in a state of deliquescence. The family huddle around a charcoal fire, contained in a small grate (*brasero*), which stands in the middle of the floor. When the charcoal is igniting, or the *brasero* requires replenishing, it

* "This vampire," says Southey, "the body of which is larger than that of a pigeon, is as great a curse as the fabled harpy to the countries it infests. Neither man nor beast is safe from them. The parts of man which they attack are the thumb, the nose, and in preference to all others, the great toe: the patient is not awakened by their bite, and they continue to hold on like leeches, till they have had their fill."—*Hist. of Brazil*, vol. i. p. 134.

"All the plagues of Egypt," says the same author, "seem to have been transferred to the lowlands of South America. Ticks of every size are numerous enough to form a curse of themselves. The open country swarms with fleas; so that he who lies down upon what he supposes to be clean turf, where there is no vestige of man or beast, rises up black with these vermin. The *vinchuca*, or flying bug, is more formidable in houses than in the open air. Breeze flies and wasps torment the horses and mules; but the common fly is far the most serious plague, both to man and beast, in this country. It gets into the ears and noses of those who are asleep, deposits its eggs, and unless timely relief is applied, the maggots eat their way into the head, and occasion the most excruciating pain, and death."—*Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 365.

is generally left outside of the door, till the carbonic acid gas has escaped. It must be observed, however, that a few families have built fire-places and grates in their houses, and are gradually introducing the use of coal.

"Some of the principal families of Buenos Ayres," says Mr. Head, "furnish their rooms in a very expensive but comfortless manner; they put down upon the brick floor, a brilliant Brussels carpet, hang a lustre from the rafters, and place against the damp wall, which they whitewash, a number of tawdry North American chairs; they get an English piano forte, and some marble vases, but they have no idea of grouping their furniture into a comfortable form: the ladies sit with their backs against the walls, without any apparent means of employing themselves; and when a stranger calls to see them, he is surprised to find they have the uncourteous custom of never rising from their chairs."

The ladies of Buenos Ayres have been called beautiful. They are accomplished, very sensible, and possess tact and conversational eloquence. They dress their hair with exquisite taste, and wear superb combs, of inordinate dimensions. They never wear hats. To this a stranger very soon becomes accustomed; so much so, indeed, that in a very short time he begins to consider the hat a very awkward and unsightly appendage of the female equipment. They possess great suavity and amenity, and are totally unaffected,—bland, and courteous. They display the most anxious desire to please, and their intelligence and amiableness render them eminently successful. They are extremely hospitable and attentive to foreigners, and some ill-bred writers have put upon this very kindness and unreserve, the harshest misconstructions. Those who know these people well, pronounce such remarks to be odious and wanton calumnies; and indeed the best disproof of them is in the fact, that many of the most respectable foreign merchants and residents, have formed matrimonial connexions here, and their wives are remarkable for the devotion and constancy of their attachments. The evening parties (*tertulias*) are delightful. The amusements, waltzing, minuetting, and Spanish dance; conversation, music, (piano and guitar,) and sometimes singing. The ladies seldom walk out in the day time, (except to church and on festivals,) the evening being preferred for the promenade, at which time the shops are brilliantly illuminated, and, in fine weather, filled with fair customers. They manifest an excessive fondness for confections of every description, (*dulces*), and a prodigious delight in flowers, with which they are fond of decorating their hair; and the presentation of a flower to a visiter, is regarded as a most gracious compliment. The fan is an indispensable weapon; in the management of which, they display admirable adroitness. Indeed the great variety of female purposes to which this instrument may be applied, is inappreciable by all those who have not witnessed its proper manual exercise.

The Creole population of Buenos Ayres is mostly of Anda-

lusian parentage, and has great vivacity and intelligence. The educated people are shrewd, gifted, amiable, and possess very little religious or political bigotry. They have been charged generally with slothfulness; but for this, perhaps, sufficient reasons might be assigned in the want of proper stimulus. Necessity, so urgent in other countries, is comparatively feeble here, because of the facilities of obtaining subsistence; and artificial wants, which are commonly such spurs to industry, are here exceedingly circumscribed. The gentlemen of the better class dress after the European fashions; they generally enter the army, and wear huge mustaches; they are proud and idle, and though great boasters, are esteemed brave; they are fine horsemen, fond of politics, and frequent the theatres, cafés, and cockpits; they are dissipated, indifferent to ladies' society, and pass all their leisure in gambling, to which they are extremely addicted. Nature has endowed them with much intellectual capacity, but the culture of their minds is neglected in early life, and their subsequent military pursuits, and extreme attachment to the card table, leave them neither the time nor the disposition to supply the defect.

The arrogance and boasting of the Buenos Ayreans are to be imputed, in a great measure, to a consciousness of their real merits and achievements. None of the Southern Republics has contributed more to the overthrow of the Spanish dominion, and the numerous and successive defeats, both of the British and Brazilians, form pages in their history of which they may justly be proud. On a late occasion, however, this gasconading seemed carried to an unwarrantable extent. The city had been reduced to extremity by a long siege, and its capture by the Montoneros was hourly expected; a dispute, which had taken place betwixt the government and the French consul, in which the latter was expelled rather rudely from the city, had resulted in an open rupture with the French squadron, which, in consequence, had attacked, and burnt or captured, the whole Buenos Ayrean fleet; an overture of accommodation was afterwards made by the French admiral, to which the minister of war, General Alvear, disliking the conditions, pompously replied, "We have driven out the old Spaniards, and vanquished the English, and we feel no inquietude about the result of a French war." It was, however, thought inexpedient to sustain this thrasonism; mutual concessions were made; Mr. Mandeville, the consul, was reinstated in his dignities, and the Buenos Ayrean fleet, though somewhat mutilated, was restored to the Republic. The youth of Buenos Ayres, who, both from necessity and election, repair to the army, have ever been great sufferers, and the diminution of their numbers, by retarding population and precluding improvements, is not to be regarded among the

least considerable of the calamities entailed upon them by perpetual discord. In the last revolution, very many were swept away by civil carnage, and few families were to be found which did not exhibit the mourning tokens of bereavement.

The Montoneros, whose name was so formidable in the recent revolution, are the inhabitants who dwell in the immediate vicinity of the city. They cultivate farms and peach orchards; raise cattle, vegetables, &c. for the consumption of the city; deal in horses; and, in short, all the productions of the Gauchos and Indians, which find their way into the city, pass through the hands of the Montoneros. The name is said to be derived from the word "monte," "mount," from their planting the peach trees, either in hillocks, or long ridges; but Mr. Brackenridge* deduces it from the "montons," or bands of robbers who infested the country. Those trees are cultivated principally for firewood, (of which there is a great dearth in Buenos Ayres,) and are felled for this use every five years. In the interim, they supply the town with the fruit, which, in its season, forms no inconsiderable portion of their own food.† They are a middle class, between the porteños, or citizens, and the Gauchos, who roam over the trackless Pampas. In the late civil war, the name was bestowed generally upon all those numerous hordes, whom the thirst for blood, or the hope of pillage, attracted to the siege of the city. They are expert horsemen; possess great physical strength and courage, and form excellent cavalry soldiers; but they are cruel to their enemies, commit constant barbarities, and cut throats with as much sang froid as they butcher cattle: the practice of slaughtering animals, to which they are accustomed from infancy, seems greatly to increase their natural ferocity, and render them truculent and merciless. A single fact, of which the writer of this article was an eye-witness, will amply suffice by way of illustration. About a league below Buenos Ayres, a stream of water empties into the La Plata, of sufficient depth to receive small vessels of the navy, which are ordinarily towed in hither for the purposes of overhaling and repairing. Indeed, it is the only place which the Buenos Ayreans have for a navy-yard. A party of officers and others, consisting of eleven persons, conceiving the safety of these dismantled hulks to be threatened by the approach of some hostile parties of Montoneros, repaired to the spot, to adopt measures for their protection.

* Voyage to South America, vol. i. p. 243.

† We are told by the Jesuit Father Sepp, that the peach originally came from Africa, where it was poisonous, and was brought over to Spain by the Moors, for the purpose of destroying their enemies; but by a miracle in favour of the professors of the true faith, it became a wholesome and luscious fruit. By the Spaniards they were introduced into America, where they flourish exceedingly. —*Account of a Voyage from Spain to Paraguaría, in 1691.*

An impenetrable fog was hanging over the country, and trusting to its security, they had just laid aside their arms, when a party of Montoneros suddenly set upon and overmastered them. Every soul was instantly put to death, with the most refined cruelty, and on the following morning their mangled corpses were exhibited in the public plaza of the city, the heads nearly severed from the trunks, the eyes extruded, and otherwise mutilated, in a manner which decency forbids to be detailed,—a shocking specimen of the incredible rancour and savageness of “human beings during civil war.”

It now remains to speak about the Gauchos* and Indians; but before we proceed to this, it will be a necessary preliminary to cast a rapid birds-eye glance at the great valley of the La Plata, which, with respect to its magnitude and peculiar soil and surface, is the most extraordinary on the globe. No country in the world presents so level a surface, being one wide extended plain, reaching from the river of Plate to the Cordillera of the Andes. It is the lower section of this superficies which is emphatically denominated the *Pampas*, and it extends nearly 1500 miles from north to south, with a breadth of about 500 miles, being a great trapezium, as Brackenridge calls it, or irregular figure, containing 100,000 square miles. Over all this immense space, there is scarcely a tree or shrub, or a single perennial plant. There are neither hills nor eminences, and the undulations are almost indiscernible by the eye. The keen and desolating tornados called pamperos, sweep across this unsheltered region without any obstruction, and discharge themselves with accumulated and resistless fury upon the broad expanse of the La Plata. The surface is a rich black mould, without stone, gravel, or sand; next is a stratum of clay, and lastly a substratum of gravel, which reaches down to water.† The whole is luxuriantly productive of grass, and forms one boundless pas-

* The writer of this article was informed, by a very intelligent Englishman, Mr. Billingham, that the name Gaucho was derived from an expression in one of the Indian dialects, and literally signifies “eye open,” a compliment bestowed upon them by their savage foes, on account of their extraordinary quicksightedness. This gentleman having resided for many years in different parts of the provinces of the La Plata, has collected a mass of curious and valuable information concerning this country. He has recently returned to England, and it is to be hoped he may be induced to publish the interesting materials which he has accumulated.

† “My short stay at Buenos Ayres,” says Mr. Mawe, “did not afford me time to make any geological researches; indeed, the country behind it, being a vast plain, without any traces of rock, did not offer much scope for such an undertaking. With the exception of part of the bank near the mole, which is of granite, I scarcely found an indurated substance during the whole route. Judging from the shells, and other marine productions, which are occasionally found in the Pampas, I should conclude that those extensive level districts have formed, at some period, the bottom of the river, and that they have been left dry by the progressive precipitation of matter, and the deepening of the Rio de la Plata,

ture ground. Baldwin and Bonpland, the companions of Humboldt, both say, that it might be timbered with great success; and Mr. Head informs us, "that if cities, and millions of inhabitants, could suddenly be planted at proper intervals and situations, the people would have nothing to do but to drive out their cattle to graze, and, without any previous preparation, to plough whatever quantity of ground their wants might require."

At particular seasons of the year, when the clover withers, enormous thistles, ten or twelve feet in height, suddenly shoot up, hem in the roads and paths, and form a dense and impenetrable barrier. "The sudden growth of these plants," says Mr. Head, "is quite astonishing; and though it would be an unusual misfortune in military history, yet it is really possible, that an invading army, unacquainted with this country, might be imprisoned by these thistles, before they had time to escape from them."

Upon this vast level are found innumerable herds of horn cattle, horses, mules, and sheep; also deer, ostriches, lions, tigers, and wild dogs. Thousands of these animals may be seen together; they are its principal sources of wealth and commerce. They have been estimated at between two and three millions of cattle, and three or four millions of horses, which range unbridled over the interminable savannahs of the Pampas.

Mr. Rodney, who was one of the commissioners sent out to this country, in his able report to our government, dated November 5th, 1818, informs us, that the exports and imports, which are nearly equal, are computed to be about ten millions of dollars.* The former consist of hides, tallow, chargue or jerked beef, wool, not only of the sheep, but also of the gunaco and vicuna, skins of lions, tigers, and wild dogs, horns, hair, and the matté or yerba of Paraguay.† The hides are valuable, not only on account of the vast numbers exported, but also for the home consumption. Incredible quantities are used for trappings

in its present channel, through a long course of ages. A circumstance which seems to support this conjecture is, that the land continually gains upon the river, and that at those times, when the wind blows from the Pampas, a considerable extent of the bank on the side of Buenos Ayres is left dry."—*Travels*, p. 46.

* Since the Reports made by the Commissioners of the United States of North America, the English government has imitated our example, through Mr. Parish, who still continues to reside near the government of Buenos Ayres, as Consul General. The information, historical, political, and statistical, furnished to Mr. Parish, and which has been translated and published in London, is extremely valuable, more particularly as it comes down so much later than that of Mr. Rodney, &c., the date of the latter being 1817 and 1818, whereas that of the former is 1824 and 1825.

† For a minute account of this Yerba, See Southey's *Hist. Braz.* vol. ii. p. 356. It is prepared from a tree, called, in the Guarani language, Caa; there are different preparations—Yerba de palos, and Caa miri or fine Caa, which latter is infinitely superior to the other.

of horses, lassos, wagons, fastenings of houses, fences, cattle pens, and for trunks and bags to contain tobacco, grain, sugar, cotton, matté, &c. Of this latter plant, the reader will find a minute account in every author who has spoken of South America, from Ulloa down to Mr. Head and Mr. Haigh. Both in flavour, appearance, and *modus preparandi*, it does not widely differ from our tea. Accordingly, an elaborate description of the former is just about as fructifying to us, as one concerning the latter beverage would be to a South American. The virtues and evils of this plant are curiously described by Techo, a Jesuit, who resided twenty-five years in this country.

"If you cannot sleep, it will compose you to it; if you are lethargic, it drives away sleep. If you are hungry, it satisfies; if your meat does not digest, it causes an appetite. It refreshes after weariness, and drives away melancholy, and several diseases." * * * "Those who once use themselves to it, cannot easily leave it; for they affirm that their strength fails them when they want it, and they cannot live long; and so great slaves are they to this slender diet, that they will almost sell themselves, rather than want wherewithal to purchase it. If moderately used, it strengthens, and brings other advantages; if immoderately, it causes drunkenness, and breeds distempers, as too much wine does. Yet this vice has not only overrun Paraguay, Chile, Peru, &c., but is near coming over into Europe; this herb being valued among the precious commodities of America."

The name may probably be derived from the word "mat;" "that is," says Doctor John Francis Gemelli Carreri, in his voyages round the world, "a dish made of a calabash curiously wrought and adorned with silver, in which it is usually prepared." From both these quotations, we flatter ourselves that it has been made abundantly to appear to our learned readers, that the matté is nothing more nor less than merely a sort of tea, which is prepared in a gourd or calabash. From this philological digression, we return to the imports of Buenos Ayres, which, from the United States, consist of cordage, pitch, tar, fish, furniture, rice, butter, spermaceti candles, ale, gin, plank, timber, &c.

The interior trade with Chile and Peru, consists in the sale of foreign goods, matté, and mules, for the precious metals. Mules are purchased in the Pampas at two years of age, and driven to Cordova, where they winter. They are then taken to Salta, where they spend the second winter; when, having attained their growth, they are taken in droves of thousands to Lima. All transportation in the high provinces is by mules; but ox-teams are preferred in the Pampas. Six pair of oxen are attached to a cart, very large and coarse, made without iron, and covered with thatch or hides as a protection to the driver. These pass in caravans of thirty or forty, and stop at night in the midst of the waste. The oxen are turned loose to graze, which is their sole support; each cart carries about four thousand weight, and performs the route from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza or Tucumán.

man, about nine hundred miles, in thirty days. Fare, from one dollar to one dollar forty cents per load.

It is a common notion, that the sentiment of liberty thrives better among the inhabitants of mountainous districts ; but the character and condition of the Gauchos, whose population is sprinkled over the broad face of the Pampas, afford a remarkable example of the contrary. They have charge of grazing farms, (*estancias*) some of which are many miles in extent. Their habitations, which are in no respect superior to Indian wigwams, consist of mud walls, thatched roofs—the only furniture being skeleton horse heads, which they make use of for chairs, and the bones of different animals stuck in the walls, serving to support their bridles, spurs, lazos, bolas, &c. The following description of the Gaucho is from Mr. Haigh.

“A more frank, free, and independent being than the Gaucho, does not exist. He is clad in the poncho, which is manufactured by the women. It is about the size and shape of a small blanket, with a slit in the centre to admit the head. It therefore serves to keep out the wet and wind, and leaves the arms at perfect liberty. The poncho is originally an Indian garment ; it is generally made of wool, and beautifully interwoven with colours. It is sometimes worn slung across the shoulders, sometimes as a belt, and is always used as a blanket at night. His leggings are of horses skin, and his toes left bare. His spurs are either of silver or iron, with rowels of enormous circumference, and with sharp spikes ; a straw hat, with a cotton handkerchief tied round his face, completes his dress. His saddle is composed of a simple wooden tree, covered with leather, and called a *recado*, covered with pellons or rugs, and dyed sheepskin. In fixing the saddle no buckles are used, the girth being composed of thin slips of hide, attached to an iron or wooden ring, which is fastened by a thong to another small ring attached to the saddle. The stirrup is either of wood or silver. When of the former, it is only made large enough to fit the big toe ; but the better sort sometimes use the latter, which is larger. His bit is like the *Mameluke's*, with an iron ring for the chin. The covering of his saddle serves the Gaucho for a bed, and he is sure of a lodging wherever nightfall may find him. He always carries the lasso, a rope made of a twisted hide, about thirty-five feet in length, and very slight and flexible : he forms one end into a slip-noose, which he can throw over the head of any animal with unerring aim. He gathers the lasso into coils before he discharges it, always retaining hold of one end, and thus secures his object. He also carries the bolas, which are three small wooden or iron balls, each attached to a separate thong, about six feet in length ; these are tied together, and he can throw them to a much greater distance than the lasso. He whirls them three or four times round his head, and sends them to his mark with admirable precision. The balls form a triangle as they fly through the air, and alighting about the head or legs of the animal, instantly arrest his progress. In this manner the wild deer and ostriches (which are fleetier than horses) are generally taken. Sometimes the force of the balls breaks the victim's legs. A large carving knife, about fourteen inches long, placed in a leathern sheath, which is stuck in his girdle or leggings, completes the Gaucho's equipment, and thus simply armed and mounted, he is lord of all he beholds. The lion and tiger, the wild bull and horse, the deer and ostrich, alike dread him. He owns no master, tills no ground ; and in the whole course of his life, perhaps, has never visited a town, and hardly knows what a government is.”

The following vivid and glowing picture is from Mr. Head:—

“In the whole of this immense region there is not a weed to be seen. The coarse grass is its sole produce ; and in the summer, when it is high, it is beautiful to see the effect which the wind has in passing over this wild expanse of

waving grass: the shades between the brown and yellow are beautiful. The scene is placid beyond description; no habitation or human being is to be seen, unless occasionally the wild and picturesque outline of the Gaucho on the horizon, his scarlet poncho streaming horizontally behind him, his balls flying round his head, and as he bends forward towards his prey, his horse straining every nerve. Before him is the ostrich he is pursuing, the distance between them gradually diminishing, his neck stretched out, and striding over the ground in the most magnificent style; but the latter is soon lost in the distance, and the Gaucho's horse is often below the horizon, while his head shows the chase is not yet decided. The pursuit is really attended with considerable danger, for the ground is always undermined by the biscachos, and the Gaucho often falls at full speed. If he breaks a limb his horse probably gallops away, and there he is left in the long grass, until one of his comrades or children come to his assistance; but if they are unsuccessful in their search, he has nothing left but to look up to heaven, and while he lives drive from his bed the wild eagles, who are always ready to attack any fallen animal. The country has no striking features, but it possesses, like all the works of nature, ten thousand beauties. It has also the grandeur and magnificence of space, and I found the oftener I crossed it, the more charms I found in it."

Again, says Mr. Head,—

"As his constant food is beef and water, his constitution is so strong that he is able to endure great fatigue, and the distances he will ride, and the number of hours he will remain on horseback, would hardly be credited. The unrestrained freedom of such a life he fully appreciates; and unacquainted with subjection of any sort, his mind is often filled with sentiments of liberty, which are as noble as they are harmless, although they of course partake of the wild habits of his life. Vain is the endeavour to explain to him the luxuries and blessings of a more civilized life. His ideas are, that the noblest effort of man is to raise himself off the ground, and ride instead of walk; that no rich garments or variety of food can atone for the want of a horse, and that the print of a human foot on the ground is the symbol of uncivilization."

The Indians inhabit the Pampas beyond the Christian boundaries. They are the aboriginals of the soil, and in very many respects, resemble the tribes of North America. Like them, too, their numbers have greatly diminished,—these children of nature always dwindling before the advance of civilized man. They are always in deadly feud with the Gauchos. They are free, fearless, and ferocious, never give nor receive quarter, and wage a perpetual war of extermination. Their prodigious feats of horsemanship astonish even the Gauchos. In their predatory excursions, they are never encumbered with provisions; for they carry with them droves of mares, which, without impeding their rapid motions, serve them with a food for which they have a great relish. In this manner they sweep the plains, with the relentless fury of their own Pamperos, leaving blast and indiscriminate carnage on their path.

"In spite of the climate," says Mr. Head, "which is burning hot in summer and freezing in winter, these brave men, who have never yet been subdued, are entirely naked. They live together in tribes, each of which is governed by a cacique, but they have no fixed residence. They have neither bread, fruit, nor vegetables, and subsist entirely on the flesh of mares, which they never ride; and the only luxury in which they indulge, is that of washing their hair in mares' blood. The occupation of their lives is war. They declare, that the proudest attitude of the human figure is, when, bending over his horse, man is riding at his

enemy. The principal weapon that they use is a spear, eighteen feet long; they manage it with great dexterity, and are also able to give it a tremulous motion, which has often shaken the sword from the hand of their European adversaries. From being constantly on horseback, the Indians can scarcely walk. When they assemble, either to attack their enemies or to invade the country of the Christians, they collect large troops of horses and mares, and then uttering the wild shriek of war, they start at a gallop. As soon as their horses are tired, they vault upon the bare backs of fresh ones, keeping their best until they absolutely see their enemies. The whole country affords pasture to their horses, and whenever they choose to stop, they have only to kill some mares. The ground is the bed on which from their infancy they have always slept, and they therefore meet their enemies with light hearts, and full stomachs, the only advantages which they think men ought to desire.—The Gauchos, who themselves ride so beautifully, all declare, that it is impossible to ride with an Indian, for that the Indian horses are better than theirs, and also that they have such a way of urging on their horses by their cries, and by a peculiar motion of their bodies, that even if they were to change horses the Indians would beat them. They said, that some of the Indians charged without saddle or bridle, and that in some instances, they were hanging almost under the bellies of their horses, and shrieking so, that the horses were afraid to face them. The profession of the Indian is war, his food is simple, and his body in that state of vigour, that he can rise naked from the plain on which he has slept, and proudly look upon his image which the white frost has marked out upon the grass, without any inconvenience. They believe in a future state, to which they conceive they will be transferred as soon as they die. They expect that then they will be constantly drunk, and that they will always be hunting; and as the Indians gallop over the plains at night, they will point with their spears to constellations in the heavens, which they say are the figures of their ancestors, who, reeling in the firmament, are mounted upon horses swifter than the wind, and hunting ostriches."

We do not conceive it necessary to apologize to our readers for the length of the foregoing extracts. We would rather regret that they cannot be more copious. Those of our readers who may be desirous of learning somewhat of the present state of the mines in the provinces, are referred to the work of Mr. Head, where he will also find that no encouragement is given to settlers or capitalists. It is but fair, however, to refer at the same time to the opinion of the author of the Historical, Political, and Statistical Account of the Provinces of Rio de La Plata; and to the same excellent work we refer our readers for an interesting account of the mighty estuary of the La Plata, and its huge branches, the Uruguay, Parana, and Paraguay, and also for a view of the different provinces which now compose the circumscribed sphere of the Republic.

ART. II.—INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT.

- 1.—*A Connected View of the whole Internal Navigation of the United States, Natural and Artificial, Present and Prospective, &c. &c.* By a CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES. 8vo. pp. 618. Philadelphia : 1830.
- 2.—*A Treatise on Rail Roads, and Internal Communications ; compiled from the best and latest authorities, with Original Suggestions and Remarks.* By THOMAS EARLE. 8vo. pp. 120. Philadelphia : 1830.
- 3.—*Message of the President of the United States, in relation to the Survey of a Route for a Canal, between the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean.* February 28th, 1829.
- 4.—*An Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, &c.* By HENRY BOOTH, *Treasurer to the Company.* Liverpool : 1830.
- 5.—*Observations on the Comparative Merits of Locomotive and Fixed Engines, as applied to Railways, &c.* By ROBERT STEPHENSON & JOSEPH LOCKE, *Civil Engineers.* Liverpool : 1830.

THE subject of internal improvement is one that causes and will long continue to cause no small degree of excitement. It has on more than one occasion threatened to become the rallying word of great and powerful parties in our nation. It is, perhaps, unfortunate, that the discussions which relate to it, have any such tendency ; yet it is impossible, in a government like ours, that the statesman should not see that his own elevation to power and public estimation, will follow in the train of measures which he conscientiously believes to be conducive to the welfare of his country ; or that his opponents should not enlist themselves to deery and defeat those plans, which they perhaps consider in no other light than as calculated to promote the success of their antagonist.

In spite, however, of the exciting nature of the discussion, it has so much importance when completely divested of all mere party considerations, that we venture upon it as suited in an essential manner to the objects of our journal, and hope that we may be able to discuss it, without being considered as thus constituting ourselves partisans of any prevailing political creed.

In relation to the prosperity of a country, the promotion of its internal commerce is an object which holds the highest rank among all economical questions. Other interests may excite temporary and ephemeral attention, and their encouragement

may produce partial, or even durable good effects ; but it is a disputed point, upon which we shall not at present enter, how far a government is justifiable in attempting to foster particular species of industry, and whether it be wise to attempt to direct the enterprise and capital of a nation to specific objects, or to leave them wholly to the guidance of private interests. The time has been, when altars were erected to those who compelled, by the exercise of royal authority, rude nations to abandon the chase and engage in agriculture ; nor have the two leading nations of Europe yet ceased to be grateful to the enlightened monarchs who introduced the silk worm into the one, and established the woollen manufacture in the other. The present generation, wiser than their fathers, would probably consider any such efforts as a tyrannic abuse of power, and would deny to the great autocrat of Russia, the civic wreath, more glorious than his imperial diadem, which he earned by compelling his rude subjects to rise from among Asiatic nations, and aspire to the first place in civilized Europe.

Roads, railways, and canals, are, however, still admitted, even by the new school of political economists, to be proper objects of national legislation. They are in most cases far beyond the reach of mere individual enterprise, and hence demand legislative aid. But by whatever means they may be originally constructed, they become permanent portions of national wealth, and not only add to the comfort and riches of the present generation, but exert an influence upon the remotest posterity.

Of all the sources of national wealth, internal commerce is not only the most secure, but the most productive. At the present day, this proposition needs no argument to support it ; but while erroneous views of economy held riches to consist, on the one hand, solely in the precious metals ; and on the other, wholly in agricultural productions ; and, while the usual practice of governments devoted their whole attention to foreign commerce, this fruitful spring of prosperity was neglected.

A community possessing a soil of various production, and manufacturing within itself all its articles of necessity or luxury, might, by their simple exchange and transportation, continually increase in wealth ; and this it would do if the precious metals were unknown ; while, if agriculture were its sole pursuit, it must remain for ever stationary. The exchange of agricultural productions against the luxuries and necessities furnished by foreign nations, will indeed foster national prosperity to a certain extent, and particularly when the nation is its own carrier ; but even this is limited in its influence, and restricted in its amount, by the wants of the consumers. A nation wholly agricultural, or merely adding to that species of industry the carriage of its produce, and of the returns it obtains, will, general-

ly speaking, soon become so much overstocked with its peculiar staples, that they will no longer command a price more than sufficient to defray the cost of growth, and from that moment progress in wealth ceases. Such is the state of the southern portions of our Union, in which the cultivation of the great articles of export has been so much extended, that they cannot be sold for more than just supports the cultivators, and in which, from this cause, the great influx of riches that for many years spread in all directions, has at last ceased, and will not again return, until new staples be introduced, or new markets opened for consumption.

Nations that are merely agricultural, are proverbially poor. In temperate climates, the very fact of a superabundance of bread stuffs, is an indication of poverty, of which it is partly the consequence and partly the cause; those countries which are compelled to resort to others for the very necessities of life, are nearly all rich, while those which supply them are impoverished. If in tropical or juxta-tropical regions, the high value of their productions has hitherto proved a source of riches, it is only because the industrious population of these regions has as yet been too thin to supply the demand; but this population is daily increasing, so that these once highly valued staples, instead of enriching the grower, are rapidly falling to that limit which affords a bare subsistence.

Every population which possesses merely agricultural industry, must, sooner or later, either by its own excessive production, or the influence of foreign competition, reach this stationary condition, and then any increase in its population entails poverty and distress. It is far otherwise, where the enterprise of the industrious is directed to various objects; where the community is made up of a proper proportion of agriculturists, manufacturers, and traders, each subserving the objects of the other, and consuming the products of their mutual industry. In such a case, agriculture and manufactures can never be carried to an extent that will impoverish; they will forever aid and foster each other. In an infant state of society, foreign demand and exchange will tend to sustain that branch of industry whose productions are in excess, but the system cannot be considered as completely balanced, until the exports become no more than sufficient to pay for such articles as the climate or soil cannot afford.

In this view of national prosperity, it will be obvious that all the means which facilitate both personal communication and a cheap and rapid interchange of commodities, are of the utmost value and importance. They have been so regarded by all enlightened nations, and in truth the attention that has been paid to them, is one of the surest criteria by which to judge of

the advance a people has made in civilization. Progress in the fine arts is a far less certain indication of refinement, than are roads and inland navigation.

Roads, as the indispensable means of communication, should first attract the attention of the statesman ; and in this respect we have in our country much to learn. It is in truth only within a few years, that any modern nation has attained as much skill in this branch of the useful arts, as was possessed by the ancients, and particularly by the Romans. We have, indeed, in science, and many of the arts, emancipated ourselves, within a century, from the relation of pupilage in which we stood to the ancients, but we may still, in this particular, look up to that nation, so wonderful, alike for its humble origin, and the vast power it finally attained.

The roads of the Romans, originally military ways, first furnished the means of conquest, next maintained the subjection of the conquered countries, and finally became a source of wealth and civilization to the people subdued by their arms. That grass never grew where a Roman army had once trod, is no figurative expression ; for we may still trace their brown uncultivated vestiges, extending for many a league through the moors of Scotland, the Sierras of Castile, and the marshes of Flanders. A citizen of Rome might perform the circuit of her vast provinces, amounting to nine thousand miles, upon roads, which, for expense of construction and durability, have never been equalled. Indeed, the care and precautions taken to make these roads lasting, appear to us excessive, and far beyond the importance even of those the most frequented. A part of the Appian way, although more than two thousand years have elapsed since its construction, still exists in a perfect state, and an examination of it shows the principles upon which the Roman roads were formed. It was perhaps the most costly of any of them, but its general features are common to them all. The upper surface is composed of great blocks of stone, extremely hard, and of such geological character, as permitted it to be readily fashioned into irregular polygons. These are so well fitted to each other, that it is hardly possible to introduce the edge of a knife between the joints. They are bedded in a mass of mortar, in which pebbles are mixed, in such a manner as to form a solid foundation for them, and support their surfaces at a uniform level in spite of their different thicknesses. Below this is a second bed of mortar, filled up with chip-stone, and forming with it a solid mass, that, at the present day, is harder than the stones themselves, and probably attained this hardness soon after it was laid. The whole constitutes a body of upwards of three feet in thickness, and is almost every where elevated above the general surface of the ground.

The roads of modern times are much less expensive in their construction, and many of them are much less suited for the conveyance of passengers or commodities. On the continent of Europe, and particularly in France, the system of road making consists in paving in the middle with flat stones. This is probably an imperfect relic of the Roman method. But they are so deficient in solidity as to require perpetual repair, and are uneasy to the traveller, and laborious for heavy drafts. In the rich alluvial districts of England, roads paved with water-worn pebbles are still occasionally to be seen, similar to the causeways of Philadelphia and New-York. In cities, indeed, paved carriage-ways are indispensable, for a variety of reasons, but in almost all other cases there are far better materials.

In the south eastern part of England, the whole soil is mixed with flint pebbles; and beds of gravel, containing them in abundance, are frequently to be met with at short distances beneath the surface. These were resorted to, at a period so distant as to be unknown, for the purpose of making roads; and, when properly applied, they form perhaps the best and smoothest paths that exist in the world. When General Roy was engaged in making military roads through the highlands of Scotland, he found no material in that primitive country analogous in its character to the gravel of the south of England; and, it appears to have occurred first to him, that fragments of broken rocks might be applied to advantage. In imitation of this, the roads of Scotland and the north of England have, for more than half a century, been made of chip-stone. The true principles of applying either of these substances, were not, however, understood, and much was left to accident and the caprice of the persons to whom the superintendence was intrusted. Still, as a general rule, the roads of England were superior to any in the world, except those of Sweden, in which country a similar mode of construction has long been employed. An enlightened engineer, whom we may almost claim as a countryman of our own, has, within a few years, investigated the causes, by which the difference, in state and quality, between different roads, constructed of the same material, and even of the same road, at different times, was produced; and having discovered the defects, has pointed out the proper remedies. It need hardly be said that we mean M'Adam, whose name has become identified with the proper system of road making, of which, if he be not the inventor, he is at least the law giver.

We shall give a synopsis of the few and simple principles on which good roads may be constructed, wherever gravel or stone are to be obtained.

1. The stones should be broken until no separate piece weighs

more than six ounces, and on the other hand all very small fragments, say beneath the size of a large pea, are to be rejected.

2. The fragments are to be thrown on indiscriminately, until the proper shape be given to the road, and they attain the proper thickness. A depth of six inches is sufficient in any case.

3. The best foundation is the natural surface of the ground, and a road is found to be most lasting when the foundation is soft, as upon the natural sod of meadows. When the surface requires cutting, it is to be dressed to a plane, and the whole shape of the road given with broken stone.

4. In remodelling an old road made of stone, the whole must be taken up to the very foundation, and all the larger stones broken down to the prescribed size. No road is so liable to become bad as one made by laying large stones beneath, and covering them with smaller until the surface gradually becomes fine gravel. In this case the larger stones will infallibly work up to the surface, and in our climate this process will be accelerated by the frost.

5. In relation to the shape or horizontal section of the road, it should in no case be made a convex curve, but be always formed of plane surfaces, varied according to the nature of the ground; neither should the inclination of these surfaces ever be greater than is just sufficient to shed the water that falls upon them. In a road, the opposite sides of which are nearly upon the same level, and the country open, the road is to be formed of two plane surfaces meeting at the middle of the road, like the faces of the roof of a house; a ditch is to be cut in the natural soil on each side, and the earth carefully thrown from the road. In a hollow way, the two surfaces should incline to the centre of the road, and a single ditch be cut in the middle. On sloping ground, the road should be formed of a single plane surface inclined towards the higher ground, between which and the hill a ditch is to be made; the water is then to be carried off by culverts, made from place to place, beneath the road. Such are the few and simple principles adopted by M'Adam, from the experience of many years, in the best roads of England. In that country there were many in which the same excellent material was disadvantageously applied, but the whole have now been reduced to a common system. In the United States, a want of proper and enlightened views, has led to excessive waste of money. So far from leaving the surface as nearly as possible in the natural state, the whole is broken up to a great depth with the plough, and thus brought into the worst possible state for a foundation. One common and uniform convex curvature is given to the road, whether it be on a plain, in a hollow way, or on side-lying ground. This is so flat at the middle that the water lodges, softens the road, and renders it liable to form

ruts, while it is so steep near the ditches, as to render it unsafe for carriages to approach them. Stone is frequently heaped on to the depth of two or three feet, carefully arranged, the largest beneath and smallest above, and the least of the latter are larger than the smallest size admitted by M'Adam. Gravel next is often laid on, the whole of which would be rejected by the rules of M'Adam as too small. The consequence is, that however smooth and perfect a road may appear at first, it is speedily cut and defaced in such a manner as to be dangerous: the large stones working up, make it rough, and thus, although for heavy loads it may, in times of rain or thaw, be preferable to the natural soil, it is at almost all seasons worse suited than the latter for the use of travellers.

The proper laying out of a road is not less important than to give it a suitable form. On a level road the sole resistance that is to be overcome is the friction; so soon as the road begins to rise, a portion of the weight, represented by the sine of the angle of inclination, is to be actually lifted; and as on a very smooth road, the friction is but a small fraction of the weight, the resistance from the latter cause may speedily become equal to the former, and the power of the moving force, to drag a given load, lessened one half. In a road well constructed, even slight inclinations may diminish its advantages considerably, although it will always remain better than one of less perfect workmanship. At a given limit of inclination, the friction of the wheels ceases to support the weight, and the moving force has not only to lift a portion of the load, but to sustain it even when the carriage is at rest; and in descending the slopes, the carriage presses on and requires to have its descending velocity checked. The disadvantage of roads of considerable inclination, is still further increased by the nature of the prime mover, that is, generally speaking, employed upon them. A horse has his force very rapidly diminished by being made to mount or to descend. He can no longer raise his own weight up a plane inclined at an angle of forty-five degrees, and cannot safely descend one of even less inclination. Many other prime movers, on the other hand, exert the same force in any direction, but in the case of the horse, not only is the resistance increased by giving the road a slope, but his power to overcome it is diminished at the same time. Slight inequalities in a road, and the penetration of the wheels into ruts, increase the resistance in like manner. And as these cannot be avoided upon common roads, they constitute in truth by far the greatest proportion of the resistance. Indeed, if these be left out of view, the resistance to the motion of a wheel carriage is extremely small. Very careful experiments have shown, that the friction at the axle of a wheel, well made and properly coated with oleaginous matter, becomes about one-for-

tieth part of the weight with which it is loaded, and in the manner of the action of a wheel, the power acts at a mechanical advantage, equivalent to the ratio of the diameter of the wheel to that of the axle. Let this be as ten to one, and the resistance to progressive motion becomes no more than one four hundredth part of the weight with which the axles are loaded. To this ought to be added the action of the track to impede the rolling motion of the wheels, but this latter may be considered as wholly inappreciable.

So far as these resistances are concerned, philosophical experiments give us both the law that they follow and their amount. But in practice, as has already been stated, they are far exceeded by those growing out of irregularities and inequalities. At each of these the accumulation of force is checked or wholly lost, the whole weight must be lifted through the height of the obstacle, and a lateral friction arises, which not only impedes progressive motion, but is constantly changing the direction of the draught, and reacting upon the animal, in a manner which always lessens the effective amount of his power, and sometimes seriously injures him. As these several causes act upon an inclined as well as upon a level road, they do not interfere with the principles of formation which have been before stated; the same objections still apply to planes of too great slope. The actual amount of these irregular resistances may be estimated, by comparing the weight which a horse ought to move, if he were only opposed by the friction of the wheels, and that which he does actually drag upon a road. The latter, if taken under the most advantageous circumstances, a smooth and level road, has been found not to exceed thirty-five hundred weight; that is to say, that a horse working eight hours per day, has drawn twenty-five hundred weight upon a carriage weighing ten hundred weight. Now the usual estimate of the power of a horse is, that he can, when walking with a velocity of two and a half miles per hour, raise a weight of a hundred and fifty pounds. This would suffice if there were no other friction than that of the wheels, and if their mechanical gain were, as before stated, as ten to one, to drag a weight of thirty-three and a third tons. As the best instance of power is only a draught of thirty-five hundred weight, the best performance of a horse upon a road is little more than one twentieth of what it ought to be, were the imperfections, inseparable from a common road, completely removed. But when a road, however well constructed, ceases to be level, the effective draught of a horse is still further diminished, and cannot be taken upon an average as more than a ton, including the weight of the carriage, and even this exceeds the usual average performance of horses upon our best turnpikes, but is about that allowed for the regulation load, in the carts and drays used upon our paved streets.

The maximum inclination to be given to the slopes of a road, is, we conceive, a matter which may be settled upon principle. The basis of the investigation should be that of a slope at which the carriage will cease to slide downwards by its own weight, so that the horse in mounting may stop and rest, without being compelled to bear the weight, and will not be obliged in descending to resist the accelerated motion of the carriage. Were there no resistance except the friction of the axles, a slope of one in four hundred, or an inclination of $8\frac{1}{4}$ minutes of a degree would be the greatest admissible; but, if it be admitted that the same causes which diminish the draught will equally influence the descent of the carriage, the inclination which is admissible might be extended to one in twenty, or a little less than three degrees. They could, however, never become so great as this, except upon a very bad road, and this case is properly to be excluded. A far safer rule is to suppose that about half of these resistances may be constant, and thus admit, as the maximum of slope, 1 in 40, or an inclination of about $1\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. This last inclination ought, therefore, to be declared to be the greatest that should ever be permitted, on roads constructed under the auspices of our legislatures, whether national or local.

We are aware that the laws of some of our legislatures admit of inclinations of 5° ; but this is vastly too great, and has, by the natural fate of all ill-judged economy, enhanced the price of transportation upon the roads, lessened their facilities for travelling, and thus instead of creating new means of traffic, and supplying, as our steam navigations have done, their own support, they have in innumerable cases returned no interest for the capital expended, while in others, the faults of location combined with those of construction, have not only sunk the whole investment, but have prevented the tolls from reaching a sufficient amount to keep the roads in repair.

The cause of this adherence to steep slopes, seems to lie in the unfounded opinion that a straight road is the shortest, and that every deviation from the geodetic line passing through its extreme points is a loss. This is far from being well founded; for in the first place, the effective distance on a road is not the aerial horizontal line, but is to be measured by the revolutions of the carriage wheels; and thus of two roads, one level and thirteen miles in length; the other wholly composed of slopes of 5° , and no more than twelve miles measured horizontally, the distance actually travelled by the horse and the carriage he draws, will be identical. But this is far from giving a full estimate of the advantage of a level road, the true measure of itinerary distance being, in fact, either the time occupied with a given load, or the load drawn in a given time; and in the case we have assumed, the effect of the level road would be to shorten the former of

these at least one half, or to double the load that a single horse could drag.

Such is the pertinacity with which the straight line has been adhered to, that one of our statute books records a law compelling a road through a very difficult country, and thirty miles in length, to be made in such a direction. The construction was retarded for a long while from the practical difficulty of drawing so long a line between the points not in sight of each other. The road was, however, at last not only laid out but completed, and has since enjoyed the unenviable reputation of being for nine months in the year the worst road in the world on which toll is collected, while for the remaining three months, the country road it was intended to supersede is the best.

It has been stated that the maximum draught of a horse on a good level road is about 35 cwt., while under circumstances of varying slope it cannot be considered as more than a ton. When this weight is borne upon a fluid, and the resistance is that which opposes motion through a body of that class, the effective action of a horse becomes much greater. His draught upon a canal may be fairly estimated at twenty times as great as upon a road. In wide and deep streams it is still greater, and here larger vessels may be employed, in which the resistance increases only as the section of the boat, or square of its dimensions, while the burthen increases with the cube. In navigations where the wind can be made use of, with but little cessation, vessels possess a still greater superiority over carriages moving upon roads, and even very far surpass the boats employed upon canals. A ship of 500 tons may be navigated by fifteen men, and makes her passages between Liverpool and New-York, on an average, in thirty days. To propel her at the same rate by means of animal power, would require five hundred and sixty men, or eighty horses.

In river navigations, the winds are rarely constant, and often intermit altogether. Here it is frequently found best to bring into aid powers other than the wind. Thus, on the continent of Europe, many of the rivers have towing paths formed along their sides, even when their navigation needs no other improvement. Even on our own deep and broad streams, steam is gradually rising into competition with sails. Thus, on the Hudson, a passage by a sloop from New-York to Albany averages about four days, while a tow boat performs the same in less than twenty-four hours, and thus, by saving of time, about makes up for the difference of cost in the moving power.

The low amount of work performed on a road by a given power, is, as we have seen, owing to the lateral friction; to the irregularities of its surface in the form of inequalities and ruts; and to the unequal action of the resistances on the different wheels.

It is hence obvious, that the removal of a part or of the whole of these, would be likely to augment the force of draught very considerably. To give the wheels an uniform and regular surface to run upon, the streets of Pisa, in Italy, had longitudinal tracks of hard, smooth stone, laid at proper intervals along the road, so that the wheels of the carriages should move along a uniform surface, while the horse stepping upon a common paved road has a good foot-hold. The same pavement has been introduced into other Italian towns, and particularly at Milan, and within the present year in the neighbourhood of London. This method is very well worthy of imitation in our cities, and would facilitate not only the carriage of heavy loads, but also contribute to the ease and comfort of passengers. A similar advantage may be gained by laying longitudinal pieces of wood to serve as tracks for the wheels. Such was the original form of the rail-road, more than two centuries since, in England. To prevent too rapid a wear, the face of the wood was next covered with a plate of iron; and to keep the wheels in the true direction, a flaunch of the same metal was formed upon the plate. The wheels remained of the common form, and the road thus adapted to them was called a tram rail-road. The lateral friction still existed, or was even increased, upon this species of road, but the other kinds were so far lessened, that the work of a horse, upon a level, was made equal to the draught of four or five tons. In this state rail-roads remained for nearly two hundred years, used with great effect in a few particular cases; where the traffic was great and limited in distance, and where water to feed a canal could not be obtained. But for general use, their great cost did not permit them to enter into competition with common roads; and they were, when water could be obtained in sufficient quantities to feed canals, inferior to them.

About twenty-five years since, rail-roads began again to attract the attention of the British nation, as accessaries to canals, and as furnishing the means of extending the facilities of transportation into districts, where, either from want of water, or too rapid a change of level, canals with locks were inadmissible. Hence arose many very considerable improvements; the rails, instead of having flaunches, were made slightly convex on the surface, and the flaunch was placed upon the wheel; the axles, the wheels, and the carriages, were improved in accuracy and nicety of workmanship. By these several means, the power of a horse's draught upon these edge rail-roads was raised to ten or even twelve tons.

As the power acts at a mechanical advantage, depending upon the ratio of the wheels to the axles, the relation between the absolute measure of the power, and the weight moved, may be increased by increasing the diameter of the wheels. It is said by

Mr. Earle, that recent experiments on the Manchester and Liverpool rail-road, have carried this ratio as far as 1-400. This would make the effect of a horse's power equal to the draught of thirty-three tons upon a rail-road. On a rail-road in Scotland, a horse has actually drawn forty tons. The first of these was, however, produced, under the advantageous circumstances of a rail-road just finished, and before it had undergone any of the changes that traffic must produce upon it; while the latter was an effort continued but for a short time. Upon the Darlington rail-road, the average ratio of the load to the power does not exceed 200 to 1; and hence the action of a horse upon a rail-road, cannot be estimated at the present moment to be more than equivalent to the draught of sixteen tons.

We apprehend, however, that Mr. Earle is in error, in stating that the experiments on the Manchester and Liverpool rail-road, give a friction as low as $\frac{1}{400}$. The official accounts of the treasurer and engineers of that company, whose titles we have quoted, speak of no experiments giving a more favourable result than $\frac{1}{240}$, and this only under such circumstances as to induce them to reject in their practice any ratio lower than $\frac{1}{200}$. Upon a canal, we have seen that it is not more than $\frac{1}{400}$.

So far, then, as animal power is concerned, rail-roads are not more than half as advantageous for transportation as canals. The search at the present moment is, therefore, for such friction saving apparatus as will place rail-roads on a level with canals. Such apparatus is easily adapted, upon a small scale, to philosophical instruments, and has been successful in a few practical cases. Of the first, we may cite, as an instance, the machine of Atwood; of the second, the patent blocks of Mr. Garnett. The last named gentleman applied his principle with success to the wheels of light carriages, but the very diminution in the axles of the friction wheels, on which the principle rests, render them unfit for those intended to transport heavy weights. Winans, a citizen of New-Jersey, has proposed a carriage with a new species of friction wheels; and Fleming, a European engineer, domiciliated among us, has contrived a means of substituting a motion of mere rolling for that of wheels. Both have succeeded completely in model, and in experiments upon the small scale, but practical men entertain doubts which do not appear to be ill founded, whether either can be actually applied in practice. Still, upon the success of some such friction saving apparatus, must depend the great question, whether rail-roads can compete with canals. There are, of course, innumerable instances where rail-roads must be resorted to, because no other method can be employed. So also the circumstances of the country may place the rail-road under peculiarly advantageous circumstances, and the canal under those of great difficulty. Thus, the route of the ca-

nal may be very circuitous, the change of level and consequent number of locks very great; and the delays and embarrassments that hence ensue, will give a preponderance to a more rapid, even if more costly, means of transportation. To cite instances of this description, the canal between Albany and Schenectady is twenty-nine miles in length, and has twenty-nine locks, while the projected rail-road between the same two points is not more than half the length, and even were the cost of transportation per mile, on the rail-road, double, the latter would be able to carry goods between the two points at the same expense. A still further saving would take place in point of time, as the rail-road could be passed readily in five hours by horse power, while the canal now occupies forty-eight. A similar instance, so far as the number of locks is concerned, is to be found in the canal and rail-road projected between the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio. The change of level is so great, that the rail-road will probably furnish the cheapest, and even if horse power be employed, far the speediest means of carriage; but neither can probably compete with the line of transportation furnished by the Ohio canals, Lake Erie, the Western canal of the state of New-York, and the Hudson.

Rail-roads, however, are about to derive new advantages from the application of steam to locomotion. The friction upon a rail-road has a measure, wholly independent of the velocity, and hence the expenditure of power to perform a given distance with a given load, will be constant. Great velocities may, therefore, and have been obtained upon rail-roads at small expense. Saving of time will be more particularly valuable, when passengers or valuable goods are to be carried; and we have in this way another case in which rail-roads will be preferable to canals. Thus, between the Delaware and Raritan rivers, to form the communication between the two great cities of New-York and Philadelphia, a rail-road would be profitable, in spite of the construction of a parallel canal.

Canals are, however, capable of important improvements, which may again raise them to the level of rail-roads, or perhaps make them superior, even in some of the cases wherein we have given the preference to the latter. Thus, when the change of level is great, the resources of mechanics certainly promise that substitutes for locks, in the form of inclined planes, or some other mechanic power may be found, into a single one of which, the whole fall of many locks may be accumulated, and the passage of which will not require more time, nor cause the boats to incur more delay, than a single lock. Thus, were the Chesapeake and Ohio canal to be laid out upon the principle of using inclined planes, twenty or thirty of them would replace its three hundred locks, and the transportation on it would become as

cheap as on the New-York canal, and far less than it could be upon the parallel rail-road.

It has indeed unluckily happened, that no successful attempt at the construction of inclined planes has yet been made in this country. For we may consider those of the Morris canal as unlikely to answer a good purpose, from a mistake in principle, which we shall note hereafter. And thus, this most important of all additions to internal communication, by which canals may be made of application more universal than even rail-roads, yet lies under the suspicion of impracticability.

Another circumstance which may come into view in the comparison between rail-roads and canals, so soon as the latter are made capable of surmounting, by easy means, great differences of height, is the comparative expense of passing from one level to another. A canal, if practicable at all, carries with it water enough to perform the raising of a boat through any difference of level. This will be evident, when we consider the mode of action of a common lock, which must be occasionally employed upon all canals, and whose expenditure of water will therefore serve as the measure of what is disposable at any point for the motion of machinery. When a loaded boat passes a lock of common height, it may be considered as using, on an average, nearly four times its own weight of water; and, as the absolute measure of force is to raise an equal weight to the same height, it is obvious that much more is employed than might be made to perform the same work, by the aid of some other apparatus. But the lock has as a compensation for this extra expenditure of moving power—the merit of great simplicity in its structure, and ease in its manœuvre; and is, after all, about equal in its operation to an undershot water wheel, whose maximum effect is to raise one-third of the weight of the water expended to an equal height; and this one-third includes friction and all other resistances.

If then local circumstances render it expedient to employ other apparatus than the lock, to effect changes of level, the engineer will have at his disposal about four times as much water as his boats weigh. This will be the maximum which he can apply, for he cannot draw more from any one pound of his canal, than the boat in entering has brought in with it, and if it have entered by a lock, in itself a wasteful mode of using water, he will have just this quantity. But this, if properly used, ought to be more than sufficient. If, for instance, he adopt a system of counterpoising locks, such as that proposed for the canal of Charleroi by De Solages, or that which received the medal of the Franklin Institute in 1828, a weight of water a little more than equivalent to the sum of the weight of boat and cargo, and the friction, will effect the transit, whatever be the height or

length of the inclined plane. If, on the other hand, he should resort to an overshot wheel to propel machinery, the original weight of water will be greater, for the maximum effect of such a wheel is to raise no more than two-thirds of the weight of water expended to an equal height; hence the wheel must be loaded at first with about two and a fourth times the weight of the boat and cargo; an equal quantity will be expended at each revolution of the wheel, and thus if the inclined plane be no more than equal in height to the water wheel which propels it, it will use four and a half times as much water as the boat weighs, or more than a lock. But an inclined plane has but little real advantage, if its height be limited to that suited for the diameter of a water-wheel, and every increase of height will cause an additional expenditure. The evil will be farther extended if fixed locks be used to place the vessels upon the cars, and the water allowed to run to waste. Here, these locks alone will use twice as much water to pass two boats, one in each direction, as would be used in passing the same number by a common lock, and to this is to be added the water used by the water-wheel, which can never be less than the contents of a lock. Such is the system which is said to be adopted in some cases upon the Morris canal, to which we before referred, and which we cannot hesitate to declare, if persisted in, will certainly prevent any advantage being derived either by the public or its stockholders from that important line of communication. Even in the latest form of inclined plane which has been tried on that canal, the water-wheel is used, although the locks are said to be omitted. We have, however, seen, that by a judicious application of mechanical principles, the expenditure of water upon inclined planes need not be more than one and a half times the weight of the boat and cargo. Hence canals, in which this may be employed as the means of changing level, may not only be executed in countries, of such a character as to forbid lock navigation, but may be made available, even where water is too scanty to admit of the use of the lock.

Rail-roads are, in truth, almost as completely restricted to levels as canals. We have seen, that upon a common road, slopes of one in forty are perfectly admissible, while much greater ones are to be found in practice. At the former inclination upon an undulating road, a horse will work with perhaps as much advantage as upon a level of equal effective length, for he is capable of extra exertion at one time, if he have an opportunity of subsequent rest. But upon a rail-road, besides the force that overcomes the friction, an additional power must be exerted, capable of raising the load through the whole difference of level, and when locomotive engines are employed, their efficacy would, in such a case, be rapidly diminished, and speed-

ily cease altogether. The friction by which the wheels adhere to the rails cannot, as we have seen, be taken at more than one twenty-fifth; hence, when the slope becomes equal to that fraction, progressive motion ceases altogether; at less inclinations, a portion of the weight, represented by the same fraction that indicates the slope, is to be lifted, and thus at a slope of one-hundredth, the weight that can be drawn up is no more than a fourth of what can be moved on a perfect level. In a hilly country, then, unless the trade be wholly in one direction, a rail-road must consist of a series of levels, with apparatus between them, at which an extra power can be applied to aid the locomotive engines. This apparatus is usually formed of an inclined plane, to which stationary steam-engines are applied.

If water can be found in situations convenient to a rail-road, the same principle may be applied with equal advantage to its inclined planes, as has been proposed by Mr. Moncure Robinson. But where water does not exist, the more expensive mover, steam, must be resorted to; and here again, canals, if practicable at all, will have a great advantage over rail-roads.

To sum up, we conceive, that at the present moment, canals still possess, except under peculiar circumstances, a superiority over rail-roads, and that the former are susceptible of improvements which may keep up this superiority, even where it would be now generally conceded that the other method is the best. These advantages, however, cease wherever time becomes an important consideration, and steam is the moving power; in which case rail-roads are to be preferred. How far the improvement of carriages, and consequent diminution of friction, are likely to be carried, it is hardly possible to predict; still, however, we cannot yet abandon the impression, although it has ceased to be fashionable, that the canal will remain the great mode of internal communication, to which rail-roads will be merely accessories, unless in a few peculiar cases, such as those we have cited, where local circumstances, or the species of transportation, will cause them to be preferred.

There is no country in the world in which the improvement of internal communications can be attended with as much benefit as in the United States. Our territory is, when compared with its population, of enormous extent, and except in a few districts, is in consequence but scantily occupied. Even in these districts, the proportion of the inhabitants to the land they occupy is far beneath the mean of European population; and in others again, it is so small, that were there no ready mode of communication, fears might be entertained of a relapse into barbarism, for the

want of those means of keeping up and propagating civilization, which the habits of intercourse and society can alone maintain.

In an isolated and scanty population, the means of education, whether moral or religious, must of necessity be limited; the mechanic arts restricted to those of mere necessity: trades and manufactures have no support; the fine arts no patrons; and science no cultivators. Our country has fortunately escaped the retrograde progress which the circumstances of its population might at first seem to render inevitable; by its fortunate natural communications, by a wise care to improve them, and by our being the first to employ upon our navigations, that great natural agent by which time and space are almost annihilated.

We have, upon the frontiers of the ancient members of the Union, an ocean, which if occasionally tempestuous, still provides a cheap and ready communication between all the older settlements; parallel to, and extending nearly along our whole Atlantic frontier, nature points out the channel of an inland communication, safe both from foreign attack and from the violence of storms. This great line of internal navigation wants but a few artificial additions, to complete it from Massachusetts Bay to Florida, and the Report which forms one of the subjects of this article, points out ready means of extending it to the Mississippi. The Mississippi itself, with its innumerable tributaries, furnishes a system of river navigation perhaps the most extensive in existence; while steam has conquered its mighty current, and rendered it nearly as easy of ascent as it has always been of descent. Our northern frontier is washed by lakes well worthy of the name of inland seas. But between the great valley of the Mississippi and the Atlantic coast, barriers of the most formidable nature exist. Parallel ridges of mountains extend from Maine to Georgia, which are only completely dissevered in two places, and in all others oppose almost insuperable obstacles to easy communication.

These two great passes are furnished by the Hudson and the Susquehannah. The former, navigable for the largest ships, penetrates or turns all the ridges except one, and even this is divided by the Mohawk, but not in such a manner as to be navigable. Nature then points this out as the most easily practicable direction for uniting the extensive navigation of the lakes with the Atlantic. This natural course has been skilfully seized by the state of New-York, in the construction of its great western canal. The Susquehannah, on the other hand, is with difficulty practicable for a descending trade, during its passage through the mountains, while it has hitherto defied all means of ascent. But even if it were made practicable, its direction is too oblique to permit it to perform any great part in the communication between the Western and Atlantic states. The great

Western canal in the state of New-York, has been now navigable for several years, and its advantages, in a commercial point of view, are too well understood to need repetition here. By it the lakes are brought into communication with the Atlantic; internal seas of several thousands of miles in circuit, with the ocean basin, whose shores comprise nearly the whole of the abodes of civilized man.

The canals of Ohio, already in a state approaching to completion, extend this chain of navigable communications to the waters of the Mississippi, and will, with the aid of those of Florida and the few cuts that remain to be executed on the Atlantic coast, furnish a complete circuit of the Union. Other passages are also projected between the lakes and the Mississippi, in the states of Indiana and Illinois.

The Atlantic portions of this great circuit, although the earliest to attract the public attention, the most easy of execution, and by far the shortest, have been pressed with much less earnestness than those which open a communication between the Eastern and Western states. There has also been an obvious difference in the policy which has governed the local governments in their conduct of these different operations. The state of New-York adopted the bold measure of executing its canals with its own resources, and holding them as its own property. This was at first considered so great a departure from the habitual course of committing all such speculations to private enterprise, as to meet the most violent opposition. Yet it cannot now be doubted, that this was probably the only practicable, and, certainly, by far the most expedient course. It was, in the first place, far from certain that the revenues of the canal could afford such a profit as to tempt individual enterprise, or even to leave an adequate interest upon the capital. Capital, too, of the kind that seeks such investments, is by no means abundant in the United States. Men of business have rarely as much of it as will suffice for the demands of their commercial adventures, while the rest of the floating wealth of the country, the property principally of widows and orphans, seeks investments free from all chances of hazard. The general government, with its abundant ceded sources of revenue, or a populous state willing to pledge its resources for the redemption of loans, can alone command that confidence which will justify investments of property of the latter character, or, what is of even more importance, will draw to our country the wealth of foreign capitalists. Let the enterprise be judiciously planned, and of such a character as to add to the value of property as much as is expended upon its structure, and it then may be considered almost a matter of indifference whether it pay the interest of its cost or not. More than this, except, perhaps, a small annual percentage upon its cost, it ought

never to be permitted to do, and its tolls should, from all considerations of wise policy, be lowered as the trade increases, in such a way that the public work shall never become a resource to do away with other means of revenue. The cheaper the means of transportation are rendered, the greater the good that they do becomes; the higher the value of landed property, the more abundant will be the other sources of national wealth; and these become objects whence revenue can be derived in a more equitable and impartial manner. All who use a canal pay in exactly equal proportion, but all are not equally benefited; while if the taxes be in the form of direct assessment upon value, each pays in the exact proportion in which he is benefited.

Of all our statesmen, Clinton alone seems to have seen this subject in its true light. The great New-York canal was never viewed by him as a source of state revenue, but as the means, without real cost, of increasing the general prosperity. That it is without real cost, is evident so soon as its income pays the interest of the cost of construction, which the New-York canal did from the first year of its completion. But he deprecated its being considered as affording a substitute for those legitimate sources of income, which the cession of the states to the Federal Government has left in the hands of the former.

The necessary expenditures of our state governments, are, from their nature, extremely small; and it is the only manly course to meet them by direct means. The statesmen who have succeeded Clinton, or whom political intrigue brought into the management of the canal system, in his place, have not pursued the sound policy pointed out by him. Excited by extravagant views of the profits to be derived from the canal, they abolished all general taxes; and when their course has been shown by experience to be erroneous, have not dared again to have recourse to that mode of obtaining supplies. So also the canal commissioners, although the present income of the canal, and the funds pledged for its support, exceed the cost of management, repairs, and the interest of the capital invested, have raised the tolls, when a true view of the interests of the state would rather have dictated their diminution. The states of Ohio and Pennsylvania have also adopted the system of making the great internal improvements within their limits at their own cost, and for their own benefit.

The canals of the state of New-York are too well known, and have been too often described to require recapitulation here. Other states of the Union have also done much in the great cause of internal communication, and much more is projected, has been surveyed, and is estimated, so that parts of it will be from time to time commenced and executed, as the public good will require.

We extract from "A Connected View of the whole Internal Navigation of the United States," the following

GRAND SUMMARY,

Being an approximation to the aggregate distance of the internal navigation of the United States, composed of the natural navigation within the several states, partly ascertained, and partly by computation; together with sundry canals of communication, and sundry series of river stream improvement, both with and without canals attached, viz.

	Artificial. Miles.	Natural. Miles.	Total. Miles.
In the New-England states,	1611 $\frac{1}{2}$	5395	7006 $\frac{1}{2}$
In New-York state, -	2626 $\frac{1}{2}$	5051	7677 $\frac{1}{2}$
In New-Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Ohio states, - -	3962 $\frac{1}{2}$	7414	11376 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Virginia, - - -	1321 $\frac{1}{2}$	3110	4431 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Indiana, - - -	400	2550	2950
In Kentucky, - - -	2	2600	2602
Ohio river channel, - -		945	945
Middle great lakes, and the states of Illinois and Mi- chigan, - - - -	270	2880	3150
Lakes Ontario and Superior, and North-West territo- ry, east of the Mississippi,	53	1935	1988
Mississippi river channel,		2250	2250
Confluents from the west, and the Upper Mississip- pi, east and west, - -		16664	16664
In the states of Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Georgia,	3198	28281	31479
In Florida, - - - -	775	3130	3905
In North Carolina and South Carolina, - - - -	2177	4600	6777
	<hr/> 16397 $\frac{1}{2}$	<hr/> 86805	<hr/>

Total computed distance of inland navigation, not
including the river courses west of the Oregon } 103202 $\frac{1}{2}$
or Rocky mountains, - - - - - }

Of this vast extent of inland navigation, nature has already provided upwards of five-sixths, and left no more than one-sixth to be completed by art. Of the 16397 miles of projected artifi-

cial navigation, 10742 are in canals of communication, 5655 in the improvement of rivers.

The canals that have been actually commenced are as follows:

	Miles.
In New-England :	
The Middlesex canal ; finished, - - - -	27
The Farmington, with	
The Hampshire and Hampden canal ; the former	
finished, the latter in progress, - - - -	102
The Blackstone canal ; finished, - - - -	45
In the state of New-York :	
The Champlain canal ; finished, - - - -	70½
The Erie canal ; finished, - - - -	363
The Oswego canal ; finished, - - - -	38
The Delaware and Hudson canal ; finished, - - - -	81
The Cayuga and Seneca canal ; finished, - - - -	21
In the state of New-Jersey :	
The Morris canal ; now well advanced, - - - -	101½
In Pennsylvania :	
The Schuylkill canal ; finished, - - - -	110½
The Union canal ; finished, - - - -	105
The Lackawaxen canal and rail-road ; finished, - - - -	41
The Lehigh canal and rail-road ; finished, - - - -	56
The Chesapeake and Delaware canal ; finished, - - - -	14
The Conestoga canal, - - - -	18
The Conewago canal, - - - -	2½
The state canal and rail-road. Many sections of the	
principal divisions are now in active progress.	
One hundred and ninety-two miles of canal were	
prepared for navigation this spring, - - - -	1022½
The state canals of Ohio :	
In active progress. Of these the Cleaveland and	
Scioto division measures 322 miles, of which 250½	
are finished ; and the Miami division measures	
290 miles, of which 67½ miles are finished, - - - -	612
The Chesapeake and Ohio canal :	
In satisfactory progress, and 50 miles finished, - - - -	371
In Maryland :	
The Deposit canal, - - - -	10
In Virginia :	
The state project of a two-fold communication, east	
and west ; viz. from the tide water, through the	
James river course, across by New river, to Great	
falls of the Kanhaway ; and through the Roanoke	
river course, to the same ; with a canal of connex-	

Amount carried forward, 3211½

	Miles.
Amount brought forward,	3211 $\frac{1}{2}$
ion between the two. Of this project, 37 miles along the James river section are finished,	726 $\frac{1}{2}$
In North Carolina :	
The Dismal swamp canal ; now nearly finished,	28
The Weldon canal, - - - - -	12
In South Carolina :	
The Santee canal ; long since finished, - - -	22
In Georgia :	
The Savannah and Ogatehee canal ; and the Ogatehee and Alatomaha canal, to be finished by the year 1832, - - - - -	66
In Kentucky :	
The Louisville and Portland canal, - - -	2
Total, finished, or in the course of execution, and in- cluding 198 miles of rail-road, - - - -	4067 $\frac{3}{8}$

To this is to be added the Baltimore and Ohio rail-road,
which, in the work we have quoted, is included in
the estimates, - - - - - Miles, 350

Of the remaining 6838 miles of canals that are merely pro-
jected, by far the greater part are of only local importance.
Those which may be considered as national in their character,
from their being necessary to connect important natural naviga-
tions, or as accessories to a defensive system in future war, are
as follows :—

	Miles.
Canal between Barnstable and Buzzard's bays, - -	26
Delaware and Raritan canal, - - - - -	35
From Adams's creek to North river, connecting Pamlico sound with Beaufort Harbour, North Carolina, -	3
From Toomer's sound to Cape Fear river, - - -	2
From Wilmington, North Carolina, to the Waccamaw,	30
From Georgetown to Charleston, South Carolina, -	45
Sundry short cuts between Charleston South Carolina, and the Savannah river, - - - - -	40
From Savannah to Darien, parallel to the coast, for which no surveys have yet been made, - - - -	50
From St. Mary's river to the Apalachicola, - - -	180
	411

Thus, then, there are but four hundred and eleven miles of
canal to be executed, being twenty-two miles less than the ca-
nals executed by the state of New-York alone, in order to make

an inland communication from Boston to New-Orleans. The difficulties of execution and the cost would also probably be less than in those canals. To the general government, the object is of incalculable value, the probable expenditure of little or no moment, while the several portions are of so little interest to the states in which they are placed, and many so unimportant, except as parts of one great scheme, that there is no great hope that either the state legislatures, or individuals authorized by them, will ever undertake more than a very small proportion of our list. Other lines of communication are also important in a national point of view. Of these we should first mention a connexion between the lakes and the Mississippi. This is about to be effected in two different directions by the state of Ohio; but another, by the way of Lake Michigan and the Illinois river, is needed even at the present moment, and ought to receive the assistance of the national government.

The New-York Erie canal, as we have seen, turns the Alleghany ridge on the north; the Pennsylvania canals, the Baltimore and Ohio rail-roads, the Chesapeake and Ohio canals, the Virginia canals, all seek to cross the mountains directly. Their utility, however, appears to be rather local than national, their intention rather to bring certain ports of the seaboard into competition for the trade of the west, with New-York and New-Orleans, than as conducing to the general benefit. One of them has, however, received liberal patronage from the national legislature, and we would not wish to oppose the same boon being granted to the others. A navigation that would turn the mountains to the south, as the Erie canal does upon the north, would be as important to the general interests of the nation, as the Erie canal itself is. For this, the Tennessee and Savannah rivers appear to point out facilities even greater than those enjoyed and improved by the state of New-York. The Tennessee is navigable from its confluence with the Ohio, to the foot of the Muscle shoals in the state of Alabama, a distance of two hundred and fifty miles. The extent of the Muscle shoals is about twenty-five miles, and must be passed by a canal. From thence the river is navigable again for six hundred and twenty-five miles, to Tellico block house. Hence to Augusta on the Savannah river, the distance, by a canal route that has been partially explored, is two hundred and fifty miles, and from Augusta to the mouth of the Savannah, a distance of one hundred and fifty-eight miles, the river is already navigable. It may, perhaps, be still questionable, whether the space between Augusta and Tellico be practicable for a canal, but if it be, there is no part of the United States that calls so imperatively for the immediate attention of the general government, and liberal appropriations for the execution of the work.

The New-York canal already unites in bonds of union far more strong than those which political wisdom has framed, the remote states of Massachusetts and Michigan, and gives to all the intermediate country such community of interests as will for ever prevent any thought of separation. A communication by the Tennessee and Alabama would produce a similar effect in the southern part of the Union, while the transverse lines in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, would combine the countries upon these northern and southern routes in indissoluble ties.

There is another undertaking which deserves notice as national, although of small extent and little cost; for it will confer benefit on the general government only, and can probably never be executed unless undertaken by it. The port of New-York is on many accounts the most important of any in the Union. It already pays about half the revenue, and it has become a matter almost of demonstration, that it is for the mutual benefit of that city and of all other parts of the Union, that the importation of foreign merchandise shall centre in a great measure in its harbour. As the principal emporium of commerce, it is the sure source of supply for seamen to man our ships of war, and the experience of successive Navy Boards has shown, that if other ports be superior or equal to it as building depôts, it possesses marked advantages for the equipment of vessels. The vast stores which its commerce requires to be collected for its supply, meet every possible demand of the navy. These advantages, even when but partially developed, caught the prescient eye of Hamilton, who, had his influence in the administration continued, would have placed on the Hudson, the principal, perhaps the sole naval depôt of the Union. It has, besides other advantages, the all important one, that a greater disposable militia force could be collected for its defence, and in a shorter time, than on any other point on the whole sea coast. To these essential merits there is a single but almost effectual drawback, the main entrance to the harbour is only accessible to large ships of war at particular periods of the tide, and even those periods may be interfered with by long continued westerly winds, lowering the height of the ocean. It has, however, another entrance of great depth, but so dangerous that it cannot be relied upon. It has recently been discovered, by an engineer worthy of the name he bears, that a cut of a few hundred yards will turn the dangers of Hellgate, and carry the largest vessels from the sure harbour of the East river to the Sound, with certainty and without the slightest risk. The opening of this channel would do more to secure the coast of the United States from insult in any future maritime war, than all the works which the ingenuity of engineers have planned along it.

Of the 5655 miles of projected artificial river-navigation, the

following portions have been either actually executed, or are in a state which promises speedy completion.

	Miles.
Merrimack river, - - - - -	110
Connecticut river, above Hartford, - - - - -	220
Potomac river, - - - - -	182
Appomattox river, - - - - -	110
Roanoke river, - - - - -	322
Dan river, - - - - -	150
Cape Fear river, - - - - -	200
Wateree and Catawba, - - - - -	275
Saluda river, - - - - -	128
Seneca river, - - - - -	200
	<hr/>
	1897

In addition, annual appropriations have been made upon the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, to remove the accidental obstructions to which they are liable.

Of the remaining river navigations, whose improvement has been proposed, we can quote none that possesses general and national importance, however valuable many of them unquestionably are to large extents of country.

In respect to the several proposed channels of communication which we have selected as national, no doubt can be entertained that their entire execution as parts of one great and important system, would be of incalculable benefit to our country. It only remains to ask, by whom or under what auspices they shall be performed, and there can be but one answer—by the Federal Government. We are aware, that the factious may at one time set up state rights to thwart an administration to which they are in opposition; that at another, a timid administration may seek to avoid responsibility, by throwing the rejection of an appropriation rather upon a principle than upon its own merits; or that a tottering administration may at another, seek popularity by declining to exercise its just powers: but the reason of the case unquestionably is, that where the means of doing good are vested, there must the power exist. The Federal Government is not merely a confederation of distinct states, but the representation of the majority of a single and homogeneous people; and in this government was vested the sole power of collecting the vast revenues derived from our foreign commerce, and a right equal and co-ordinate with that of the separate states, of imposing internal taxes: it certainly required no direct enactment to show, that the funds derived from these sources might be devoted to whatever object the three branches of legislative authority should conceive it proper to apply them,

under their respective responsibilities to their constituents and the laws. If however the power be, from its very nature, thus extensive, its exercise must of course be governed by principles of sound policy, and it would be improper that the general government should execute of its own direct agency, any work that is not of general utility. But the national character is not to be judged of by the extent, the quality, or the location of the work; it will be ascertained by the exercise of sound discretion, and determined by the influence of enlightened views. The question of its being confined within a single, or extended to various states, has no bearing upon the nationality of its character. The canal of New-York is perhaps more important in a national point of view, than any other internal improvement that has ever been proposed or executed in the United States, while the Hudson and the Delaware canal, which lies partly in two states, and touches a third, is purely local. Nor do we hesitate to say, that the little cut of two miles, from Toomer's sound to Cape Fear river, being a part of the great line of navigation parallel to the coast, is as national as the general improvement of the Mississippi, which traverses the whole breadth of the Union, and unites climes of the most varied temperature, the snows of almost polar regions to the perpetual verdure of the tropics.

But the agency of the general government in internal improvement ought not to stop at works whose design and utility is strictly national; the benefit of the parts constitutes the benefit of the whole, and a paternal government will foster all praiseworthy objects of enterprise, however small may be the sphere of their influence. Here, however, the general government cannot in good policy act directly, but its resources ought not the less to be applicable to objects of real and obvious utility. The example of the state of New-York points out a mode by which the general wealth may be safely and beneficially applied to promote undertakings limited in their local influence. The Hudson and Delaware canal, intrusted to a chartered company by the states of New-York and Pennsylvania, was in danger of being arrested for want of funds; the legislature of the former state forthwith loaned its credit to the company for a sum sufficient to complete its works, and took for its security a pledge of the whole. This course, which in this single instance secured the execution of a great and valuable work, might be safely taken as a general principle of action, and the Federal Government might, in all cases, when states or authorized associations of individuals shall have executed or provided for the execution of a certain proportion, not less than the half, of any public work, lend to them its credit, or its funds, for the purpose of executing the remainder, upon a pledge of the revenue of the whole. The sagacity of individual speculators, or the intelligence of legisla-

tures, intimately acquainted with the circumstances of the enterprise, might be, in all cases, safely relied upon to shield the government from loss.

The same principle might perhaps be applied to roads, but the danger of loss and improper application becomes much greater in this case. It almost always happens, that the whole cost of roads is amply defrayed by the improvement of the value of the country through which they pass, and landholders might often safely venture the loss of a large proportion of the expenditure upon a road, in order to induce the government to bear a share. Roads too, where they are actually needed, almost always return a compensation sufficiently direct to induce their construction without the aid of government, and their benefits are more strictly local. The very infancy of our settlements will call for the formation of roads, and their quality will be improved with the growth of population. The great mails of the Union may require in some few cases the formation of roads, but it may be almost assumed, that when other circumstances do not determine their construction, the mail will be light and the necessity for roads less. The selection which has been made of the seat of our general government, has rendered routes which would not otherwise have been constructed, absolutely necessary, if that city be taken as the central point whence all the mail roads are to diverge. These routes are in no wise necessary to the commerce or communications of the country, except so far as a fictitious want is created by the location of the general post-office. Still it might not be an unwise provision for the general government, to loan on the pledge of the tolls, to aid in the construction of turnpike roads, some definite portion of their cost. In this event, the residue of the expense of construction would fall upon the state, or the district in which the road is situated, but the investment will be far less safe than upon canals or rail-roads.

It is a question which has been much agitated, whether it be better to perform public works at the cost of the public, or commit them to associations of individuals. In those countries where capital is superabundant, and more than suffices for the ordinary demands of trade, the question becomes one of expediency alone. If the undertaking be one that promises a fair remuneration, individuals can always be found ready and willing to embark in it. It then becomes the simple question, whether it be wise to intrust the interests of internal commerce to companies who have no other interest than that of obtaining the largest returns for the investment. The example of England is urged in favour of the latter course; and it has, no doubt, in that country, been eminently successful. France, too, after having for centuries held to the other method, has, within a few years, endeavoured to follow the example of England. Still, however, it may be

doubted whether this be the preferable plan, even in these cases. Were a government manfully to determine that its resources should be directed to its own improvement, and were it to adopt a general and well organized system, it is clear that the results would be far more beneficial to the general prosperity, than any number of isolated projects intrusted to individuals. But the governments in Europe have, in the first place, the necessity, real or imaginary, of keeping up large standing armies, and moreover the cost of their courts and governments is so enormous, as to swallow up the funds that might be far better employed in adding to the general wealth. To diminish the military force, is in some cases dangerous, by exposing a nation to foreign aggression; in others, the security of the rulers would be impaired by lessening the means by which an oppressed and discontented people are kept in awe; while in all, the administration has an interest in keeping up the pomp and luxury, the places and sinecures, which seem the necessary accompaniments of regal state. How far the late change in France may relieve that country, and by setting an example of simplicity in her rulers, relieve the rest of Europe from the cost of courts and pensioners, we have yet to see; but there appears little prospect that the nations of that continent can soon dispense with the service of large standing armies. Still, the expenditure of large sums upon internal improvement is not absolutely incompatible with either prodigious luxury or the maintenance of vast standing armies. Thus the luxurious and military reign of Louis XIV. saw the execution of the canal of Languedoc, and the perpetual war that attended the rule of Napoleon, witnessed the construction of more works of public utility than had illustrated the whole line of Bourbon kings. Yet, under such circumstances, a government will view the means of internal commercial communication as merely secondary, when compared with preparations for defence or luxurious enjoyment; and while that is the case, it will be wise to encourage individuals to undertake what a government either cannot or will not perform. The objection next occurs, that there is thus created a body of influential men, whose interests are to a certain degree in opposition to those of the public, and whose privileges, in order to be valuable, must take the form of exclusive monopolies. In our own country no such reasons apply for committing public works to private hands. Few of our states possess any great superabundance of commercial capital; in others, where public works are most urgently demanded, the circumstances of new settlement exact more than all the funds the private resources or credit of individuals can bring into action, and employ them to greater profit than any public work. Hence the capital to execute any great design must be extrinsic, and private resources or

pledges cannot procure it. Great as is the comparative wealth of the city and state of New-York, its canals would not have been executed within the next half century, had the government intrusted them to chartered companies, instead of taking them into its own hands, and pledging the credit and resources of the state to secure the loans it required to complete them.

When a state thus enters into a system of internal improvement, the mere returns in money become a very secondary object. It is sufficient, that the completion of the public works shall add to the value of individual property as much as they themselves cost, and the state is no loser; if, in addition, they pay the interest of the cost, the whole expenditure becomes clear profit. In the case of the New-York canals, many times their cost has been added to the productive capital of the state; and the amount of tolls is such, that there can be no doubt, that so soon as the canal can be declared absolutely finished, they must far more than defray the interest of its cost. A degree of deception, probably necessary to carry a fluctuating population into a great expenditure, has been continued long after the reasons have ceased to exist. Works and additions that ought to have been included in the estimates of the cost, are thrown into the account of annual repairs, and the mere maintenance appears to absorb a large part of the income. Were it now to be frankly declared, that many parts were executed in such haste as to be merely temporary substitutes for permanent works, and that many important and essential structures and accessories were included neither in the original plan nor estimates, the matter would be placed in its true light; and even if the cost of these additions be defrayed out of the income, the items of essential additions and of mere maintenance would be separated; and if the actual cost of the canal should appear greatly enhanced, its nett income would be at once seen to be abundant. Such a course would necessarily demand an examination like that which the celebrated Vauban made of the canal of Languedoc, at a time when its very existence appeared to be threatened by the cost of its maintenance, and the works which such an examination would point out as necessary, being undertaken as parts of the general scheme, and not as temporary expedients, growing out of accidents and casual circumstances, would be less costly than they now are.

A government need not fear to contract debt for works which are certain to be of public utility. The paradox that a national debt is a national blessing, has been indeed refuted by the masterly argument of Dr. Hamilton; and it is now no longer doubted, that all debt, growing out of wars or other unproductive expenditure, is the absolute loss of so much capital to the nation. But when the debt is contracted in order to be expend-

ed in creating a permanent and productive capital in public works, no loss can take place in any direction. The whole of the profits made by workmen, contractors, and all the different classes of traders through which the expenditure circulates, is so much addition to the general riches; the land through which the work passes is raised in value far more than the cost of the enterprise; and every diminution in the cost of transportation, adds to the capital of the country.

In our republic, the sole question seems now to be, whether the general or state governments shall be the organs for the execution of public works. Practice seems to have vested in the state governments the right of granting privileges to associations of individuals, and of undertaking on their own account all the different forms by which inland communication is facilitated. Yet it is reasonably doubted, whether the general government have not a concurrent right to engage in constructions of the kind, even when local in their position, if they conduce to the general prosperity. Without entering into the constitutional question, we shall content ourselves with stating, that when, by a compact such as our Union, the duties of sovereignty are divided between central and local jurisdictions, it appears to be demanded by justice, that the power which derives the greatest pecuniary benefit from the compact, shall contribute to all objects of public usefulness in proportion to its advantages under the compact. To the general government have been surrendered, by the states, all the great and easily productive sources of revenue; hence the general government ought to bear the greater share of all those improvements whose value is to be tested by another criterion than that of a direct pecuniary nature. Many such undertakings there are, which the present state of our country demands almost imperatively, that private individuals will not, and state governments dare not, engage in, because they afford no certainty of speedy returns for the sums they must cost. Of those of most obvious interest, a list has been given in another place, and it is possible that others might be discovered upon a close investigation. We cannot but hope, that the feeling which once existed, and the liberal construction of the constitution that at one time seemed to prevail, will again resume their ascendancy in the councils of the nation, and lead to such a wise and judicious application of the superabundant resources of the country, to works of internal improvement, as will conduce to the wealth, the power, and the honour of the American nation.

ART. III.—*The Novels of Charles Brockden Brown.* 7 Vols.
12mo. Boston: S. G. Goodrich.

WE anticipate no contradiction when we assert, that to the mass of readers, no species of literature is so attractive as novel-writing. This is owing to many causes, some of which are sufficiently obvious to every observer. One of the chief, undoubtedly, is the excitement and consequent gratification of curiosity—a principle of the mind, which, as every one must have experienced, is extremely susceptible of excitement, and when excited, extremely eager for gratification. It is a principle wisely implanted in our nature to quicken our investigating powers, and arouse our energies in pursuit of knowledge; and so effectual is its stimulus in this respect, that its immediate gratification is often the only inducement to the most minute and laborious research. Discoveries of great magnificence and high utility—in science and in art—in mechanics, chemistry, astronomy, geography,—in short, in almost every branch of human investigation,—have resulted from the ardour of pursuit excited by this feeling alone. The impulse which drives men to disregard the dangers and fatigues of exploring unknown countries, in order to ascertain the height of a mountain, the sources of a river, or the site of a city; or to undertake the performance of a tedious and hazardous experiment, or the solution of a difficult problem, for the mere satisfaction of *knowing* the result, must not only be strong but productive of delight. If this principle is so powerful, therefore, as to overcome the usual reluctance of men to attempt efforts which are laborious and of doubtful success, how great must be its influence in impelling them to inquiries that occasion no fatigue, and in which gratification is certain?

And here lies the potent charm of novel-reading;—without labour, without hazard, it affords to the mind the grateful employment of investigating and ascertaining the motives of actions, the issue of adventures, the development of mysteries, and the disentanglement of plots.

The gratification of curiosity, indeed, forms one of the most pleasing intellectual sensations we can enjoy. And what can more readily excite, or more strongly gratify it, than a well-contrived series of adventures, skilfully narrated, the actors in which derive additional interest from being of the same nature, feelings and dispositions with ourselves? The work, therefore, which, in its progress, powerfully awakens and agitates the curiosity by the importance, the singularity, and the intricacy of the events it relates, will always be a favourite with the reading world. Such a work is a high-seasoned dish in literature; it

applies itself to the most active of our intellectual appetites, and becomes a luxury, which, when once tasted, cannot be relinquished until all its contents be devoured.

But although indulging curiosity be the principal, it is not the only means of attraction possessed by this species of literature. It has various other modes of communicating pleasure. It can interest by incident, arouse by novelty, and touch by pathos. It makes delineations of nature which we delight to contemplate. It presents views of society, which afford amusement or impart instruction, or yield the advantages of both. It revives pleasant recollections, awakens endearing associations, and fills the mind with animating and salutary reflections. There is, in fact, no scope for the exercise of genius which it does not afford, no field for the admonitions of wisdom which it does not embrace. Invention, memory, judgment, taste, knowledge, have all ample room for the display of their particular powers; and there are novels extant, whose production has called into action the full vigour of all these faculties, and exhibited the powers of literary aptitude in their highest excellence.

Novels of this high order are, indeed, but few. But a species of literature, susceptible of such excellence, cannot be refused an important station among the productions of mind. The vast and undeniable popularity of modern novels, has, indeed, given them such an influence over the opinions and manners of society, that it is no longer in the power of either statesmen or philosophers to view writings of this description with the indifference or contempt, in which, until within these last twenty years, they were usually held. All classes in Europe, from the prince to the pauper, from the archbishop to the sexton, from the field-marshal to the sutler, and, in our own country, from the president to the petty constable, read them, relish them, and talk about them, as if they formed one of the prime necessities of life;—so that the appearance of a new novel has become an event of consequence in the affairs of mankind, and its merits and demerits are discussed with as much interest and anxiety as the prospects of peace or war, or of a good or bad harvest. Hence it is, that the character of the last Pelham fabrication has occasioned, in this country, as much debate as the Nullification question itself.

It is important, therefore, that works which exercise such a powerful influence over the public mind, should be narrowly watched by the conductors of the periodical press. Their doctrines and tendencies ought to be rigidly scrutinized, and, when found fallacious and corrupt, exposed to public disapprobation with just censure and unshrinking severity. On the other hand, when they advocate correct principles, and strengthen the cause of morality, they should receive from the critical tribunals such

heartly commendation, as may enable them to drive their mischievous competitors from public estimation into deserved contumely and neglect. In a literary point of view, a strict surveillance should also be kept over them; for the same fascinating properties which give them their power over our manners and morals, enable them to wield an immense influence over both the style of our authors and the taste of our readers. Such of them in particular as become unusually popular, ought to have their defects as compositions, whether they consist in insipidity or feebleness, in inaccuracy or inelegance, in exhibitions of ignorance or offences against good taste, pointed out with an unsparing hand, so as to counteract, as far as possible, the evils which their extensive circulation may enable them to effect. An undaunted critic, indeed, cannot have more legitimate objects of attack than the blemishes and blunders of a popular novelist. The praise accorded to such is generally in the extreme, and while every beauty is selected and noted for the purpose of applause, the most palpable deformities are either overlooked or metamorphosed into perfections. To the propensity for admiring every thing in such authors, whether good or bad, may be justly ascribed a great portion of the unnatural inflation and obscurity, accompanied with stiffness of expression, and incoherence of thought, which characterize the writings of so many of our youthful aspirants to literary distinction.

But while a due regard to the interests of both good morals and good authorship, requires that the popularity of an offender against either, should afford no protection from the censure of the critic, justice demands that the neglect with which a meritorious, but less fortunate writer, may be treated, shall be no hinderance to the most zealous commendation of his beauties. Indeed it is the best mark of a sound critic to be able to discover excellence where it was not supposed to exist, and to detect blemishes where superficial observers could find nothing but perfection. To draw merit from the shade, and attract towards it the countenance and encouragement of the world, is a generous and noble act, which we should suppose every critic would be ambitious to perform. But how few of them seem to be actuated by that ambition! Judging from the general tone of the periodicals which are organs of criticism amongst us, it would seem as if our critics considered their whole business to consist in echoing monotonous eulogies on the celebrated, and ejaculating sneers upon the neglected authors of the day, without any reference whatever to their respective merits. Hence it is, that a great proportion of our criticism has degenerated into a mere reverberation of the encomiums or the censures that may be first issued upon a new work, and which generally proceed from too interested a source to be frequently accurate. Does this state of

our criticism arise from the general dishonesty of the critics? We think not. Neither does it arise altogether from their incapacity or ignorance. Its chief source is their indolence. A new book comes out. They read it superficially, or perhaps not at all. At all events, they will not waste labour in examining it minutely. It becomes popular. They must speak of it in their journals. Their readers expect it. The easiest way they can acquit themselves is for them the best, although, for the cause of literature and morals, it may be the worst. A panegyric, got up, doubtless, by some one interested in the success of the publication, appears. It is copied verbatim into the would-be critic's periodical, with a few introductory editorial remarks in approbation of its opinions, whatever they may be—or in some cases, these opinions are adopted by the editor, and given to the world as his own, by merely changing the phraseology, and throwing, at least, a portion of the criticism into his own language. Thus the original puff, starting, perhaps, from the very press at which the book was printed, goes the rounds of periodical circulation, until, by dint of repetition, it is rendered the fashionable opinion of the day.

We do not believe that the works before us have ever had the advantage of that reverberated puffing just mentioned. At the time they first appeared, the echoing system of criticism was not so prevalent. But there was another, and, perhaps, still greater disadvantage under which they laboured—they were published among ourselves, on this side the Atlantic. They had not, therefore, an opportunity of acquiring any of those mystical charms belonging to all new books that cross the ocean to this country, and which render them so wonderfully fascinating, to our critics first, and then, of course, to their readers.

These novels, therefore, although written by the greatest genius in romance this country has produced, did not become fashionable. No critical trumpets were sounded, at their first appearance, to announce the phenomena to the world; nor did a perpetual chime of editorial bells precede them in a triumphal progress from one end of the Union to the other. To this day they are lying in comparative neglect; and there are a hundred villages in the United States, in which their names have never been pronounced, while there is not one in which Paul Clifford has not read lectures against the rights of property.

But is it to the silence of the critics concerning these works, that the public neglect is to be ascribed? Is there not something in the works themselves that obstructs their general popularity? We must in candour acknowledge that we think there is. They seem to have been written only for the benefit of the "judicious few,"—the judicious few, therefore, monopolize their beauties, which, numerous and splendid as they are, have a peculiarity

about them which none else can enjoy. Shame to those critics, however, that do not belong to this judicious number, who are the favoured sons of literature, endowed with a faculty of discerning and relishing a species of intellectual repast which the multitude cannot understand. Men who cannot appreciate the beauties of Brown's works,—who cannot feel and admire the immense power of mind which was required to produce these volumes of profound thought, keen perception, and subtle analysis of human character, are totally unqualified to pass public judgment on works of imagination. Our newspaper critics, indeed, have not been altogether unfriendly to the reputation of Brown. Editors of talent have occasionally introduced a passing notice of him and his works into their columns. But their remarks have generally been brief and cool. We have never seen, in any of our journals, such an earnest and warm recommendation as was calculated to awaken public attention, or was even indicative of the existence of any ardent admiration of these productions in the mind of the editor himself. When those, therefore, who undertake to guide public opinion in literary matters, seem either incapable of entering into the spirit of Brown's compositions, so as to feel and properly appreciate his excellencies, or have expressed their opinions in relation to them with coolness and indifference, it cannot be expected that the mass of the public, whose custom it is to follow the sentiments of others in these matters, will give themselves much trouble about them, or make inquiry after books which those who lead their taste have so slightly recommended.

To the professed critics, therefore, the reputation of Brown owes but little. To whom then is it indebted?—for a reputation he has, and that too of an enviable, because durable, description. It is not to the million, for with them he never can be popular—his profound but prolix habit of philosophizing forbids that. With whom, then, is he in favour? We shall answer—with those whose favour is the best proof of merit, the intelligent; the cultivated and the reflecting classes of society—the men who have leisure to think, capacity to judge, candour to acknowledge their sentiments, and influence to give them weight. It is the favourable verdict of such a class which forms the true criterion of merit, and the certain presage of a permanent fame.

Thus the reputation of Brown is limited—it always will be limited—to a narrow circle. But while such a circle exists, and that will be while reflective minds and solid judgments are found among men, so long will his reputation endure, without being eclipsed by any writer of romance equally singular for closeness yet tediousness of reasoning, abruptness yet prolixity of narrative, fervour yet wearisomeness of style. There is something paradoxical in the use we have made of these epithets.

We admit it. We intend it. The fate and character of these novels are a perfect paradox. They have been much praised and but little read. Their merit is great, yet their attraction is small. They reflect honour on the literary talent of the country, and yet they are as a sealed book to the greater part of its population.

We commenced this article with the assertion that novel writing is the most attractive species of literature—and yet we have taken for the subject of it, a series of novels, which we have acknowledged to possess but little magnetism. This would seem as if we had caught something of the subtilizing spirit of Brown, and were becoming ourselves paradoxical. But we would remind the reader of the proverbial phrase, that there is no rule without an exception. We still maintain our assertion in relation to novel-writing generally. Against this assertion the character of one, or even a dozen novels, proves nothing—it only forms an exception to a general rule.

We shall now endeavour to account for the absence of that popular attraction in these works, which their greatest admirers have been obliged to acknowledge and deplore. In reference to attaching qualities, we may divide all novels into three classes, the narrative, the descriptive, and the philosophical. Of these, the first is by much the most, and the last, the least attractive.

That to a very large majority of light readers, (we might, perhaps, include readers of every description,) narrative has much greater charms than either description or ratiocination, is proved by the well-known proneness of the mind, when perusing a work of fiction, to pass over, or at most, slightly glance at, the descriptive and philosophical passages, while it dwells with complacency or delight on those which carry forward the story, and communicate that information relative to the events of which the curiosity is in search. It is neither for the acquirement of knowledge in ethics, nor instruction in science; nor yet for the attainment of an acquaintance with external nature, animate or inanimate; nor, in short, with a view to information or improvement of any kind, that novels are generally read. Amusement is the great—almost the only object. In hours of relaxation and leisure, the mind which can never be idle, requires occupation. That which will afford it employment with the least exertion, will ever be the most acceptable; and every one must have experienced, that to peruse a succession of events, requires much less attention or exertion of thought, than to connect the parts of a description, or to follow the deductions of an argument, so as to comprehend them in a manner that will afford either benefit or satisfaction.

With respect to the descriptive novel:—Why is it more attractive than the novel which moralizes? What are its superior

charms? We confess that long and formal delineations have never been pleasing to us. We could, at any time, better endure to wander through a dozen pages of abstract speculation, than through half the number of mere description. The one has generally some chain of connexion in the ideas, which, by a moderate share of attention, we can follow without becoming bewildered. In the other, the parts or appearances delineated, are necessarily separate, and must be singly represented. To connect them, in the perusal, in such a manner that the imagination may form a satisfactory picture of the whole group, requires a mental effort greater than in the hours of lassitude and idleness, which alone we usually devote to novel-reading, we are willing to make. Such at least is our own experience; and we believe, that it differs but little from that which is generally felt. Still, the novels which are termed descriptive, or are ranked as such, are usually more entertaining than those devoted to moralizing. This arises not from any superiority of attraction possessed by description itself, but from the circumstance that descriptive novel-writers have seldom or never indulged their peculiar vein to such extent as the moralizers. With their descriptions, actions and incidents, which in reality form the great charm of works of imagination, are more frequently blended; for even to the writer, sheer description is more laborious and fatiguing than moralizing. If a scene is to be described, it must come to an end when all its features are fully presented to view. But to what end did philosophizing ever come? Who can set bounds to speculation; or limit the wandering of his thoughts when he has fairly embarked them on the tide of theory, or given them license to range amidst the perplexing wilds and interminable labyrinths of metaphysics?

It is this unfortunate propensity to prolixity in the philosophical novelist, together with his frequent and inevitable lapses into mysticism and obscurity, which renders his productions, despite of whatever talents they may display, less readable, and therefore less popular than those of the describer in fiction, although, in most cases, the performances of the latter are the result of mechanical tact rather than intellectual pre-eminence. There is, at least, one descriptive novelist of this country, whose peculiar powers consist in grouping and arranging, sometimes with considerable effect, but frequently with wearisome minuteness, and always with the square-and-rule exactness and measured precision of a *working man*,—those appearances of external nature with which he is familiar, rather than in displaying them with the bold, free, concise and vivid pictorial touches of a forcible and animated writer. Yet the novels of this descriptive writer are much more popular than those of the philosophical Brown, because his descriptions, long-winded and tediously minute as

they often are, display to us the appearances of real, not of fanciful nature, and what is more to the purpose, they are always blended with a sufficiency of historical, or at least, probable events, to keep alive curiosity and render the reader anxious to learn the result of the tale.

The novels of Brown, on the contrary, are so glutted, if we may use the expression, with philosophical reflections, springing from the inexhaustible fertility of his superior intellect, that there is little room left in them for the admission of incidents. These are, therefore, comparatively few, and compressed into bounds so small, that it is with difficulty the reader can trace them. He, consequently, becomes tired of the search, his curiosity cools, he frets at being kept by the never-ending exhibitions of the author's powers of subtilizing, from the main object for which he took up the book, namely, to become acquainted with the fortunes or misfortunes of its characters. He, therefore, throws it aside, no doubt, fully convinced of the author's talents, but with no disposition ever to resume its perusal.

Thus the exhibition of abilities does not always afford pleasure, nor even command attention. To gain the suffrage of the world, more depends on the mode than on the power with which talents are displayed. Strength, not grace, is the attribute of a giant; and there are productions of mind whose profundity and force extort admiration, but do not communicate delight. The vigour of Churchill, the satirist, is great; but his manner is rough, and his sentiments unamiable. Who reads him?—The artless Goldsmith has no extraordinary vigour; but his manner is elegant—natural—sweet. Who does *not* read him? Every one loves his memory; every one praises his works. His fame will never die; while that of the bold, rough, powerful Churchill, is already almost extinct.

Some of these novels, however, abstract and metaphysical as they are, possess, in no slight degree, the power of entertaining. Desultory and superficial readers, it is true, such as chiefly resort to the circulating libraries for entertainment, will not derive much enjoyment from any of them. They will not have patience to go through the long but masterly discussions of the principles of duty, or investigations of the motives of action, with which they abound. Such are best pleased with sprightly dialogue, or hurried and animated narrative. But there are minds differently constituted; tastes differently formed. There are the serious and the reflecting, who read for the purpose of study rather than amusement, or rather the amusement most acceptable to them, is that which awakens in their minds, contemplations on the nature and dispositions of man, and on the duties and designs of existence. To those who relish such studies; who wish to animadvert upon theories and doctrines, and to see the

positions of right and wrong illustrated by portraits drawn from human characters, and examples from the occurrences of human life, the works of Brown will afford a mental repast, rich and noble, which can be excelled by none with which we are acquainted, in the whole regions of fictitious literature.

As novels, therefore, although these works may not be so universally attractive as if they were of a lighter and more narrative cast, yet they have not been written in vain. They fill up a chasm or vacancy in a department of literature, which had not been before occupied, or occupied but in a very partial manner by one or two of Godwin's works. It has been said, that Godwin, in his *Saint Leon* and *Caleb Williams*, set the example to Brown of this style of writing. It may have been so, if affording a hint can be called setting an example. But Brown, if he took the hint from Godwin, has greatly improved on it. He has carried it to an extent, and raised it to a height much beyond any thing to be found in Godwin; and may justly be placed at the head of the school, if he may not be considered its founder. The existence of such a school of novel-writing, although it should not be so extensively popular as some others, is a matter, which, by increasing the varieties of this department of literature, must afford satisfaction to literary men; and, inasmuch as it addresses itself to the peculiar taste of some readers, it supplies a desideratum in letters which entitles its founders to gratitude and praise. The question of its popularity apart, it must be admitted to be a school of romance highly magnificent and instructive, and requiring greater powers of mind to excel in it than any other. By Americans it ought to be regarded with peculiar favour, for by an American it has been brought to the highest point it has yet attained.

On this account, Brown ought, in justice, to be considered the chief ornament of our national literature. In no other department of authorship, except that in which he has so greatly excelled, can we claim any superiority over other countries. Nor is excellence in the philosophical romance so slight a matter, that we should not be proud of it. It is a most difficult species of composition. To excel in it, requires a mind of the first rate order, fertile in ideas; choice, accurate, and flowing in expression; inventive, acute, and gifted with an almost intuitive skill in the nature, passions, and general pursuits of man, together with the obligations imposed on him by his various circumstances and positions in society. In short, the same powers of mind and knowledge of human nature, which enabled Brown to write "*Wieland*," and "*Arthur Mervyn*," would have enabled him to excel in any species of mental exertion to which he might have chosen to apply his faculties.

These novels, indeed, taken as a whole, appear to us a phe-

nomenon in literature; and we are persuaded, that by every reflective mind, that studies them properly,—for to understand their worth, and appreciate their importance, requires much study—will consider them such. We have mentioned the opinion which several critics have advanced, that Brown was a follower of Godwin's school of romance. We now state explicitly, that we think such an opinion erroneous. That he took the hint of his peculiar manner of scrutinizing motives from Godwin, we will not controvert. But if he did, it was all he took from him. In nothing else does he resemble him; and, even in this, there is a peculiarity about Brown which sufficiently distinguishes him from his alleged model, and gives him, in our opinion, solid claims to originality in the only point in which it has ever been denied him. Godwin's strain is connected, deductive, argumentative. Brown's is abrupt, concise, and sententious. The one deduces and demonstrates; the other investigates and analyses; the one is expansive and profound; the other is close, pointed, and elucidative; the one is vehement and passionate; the other is intense and pathetic. In fact, except in their propensity to dwell on the operations of the mind, these two great writers have as little in common as any other fabricators of tales; and even moralizing, the topic which is so alluring to both, is approached by each in a manner so different, as to entitle him to the full credit of thinking for himself.

Having thus, as we hope, established for our countryman a sufficient claim to originality in the line of literature which he adopted,—for it is not pretended, that he, in any degree, resembles any other writer than Godwin—we will now go farther, and say, that we consider his novels much superior to those of his philosophical rival, in the demonstration which they afford of intellectual power. Godwin has produced no work so unique—so deeply philosophical, so awfully mysterious, and so overwhelmingly pathetic as *Wieland*; or so full of strange and impressive incidents, and just, yet novel reflections, as *Arthur Mervyn*. Godwin's knowledge of existing manners, appears to be more extensive than that which was possessed by Brown. He has drawn, therefore, more accurate pictures of his contemporaries, and his incidents seem to correspond more with the ordinary practices of life. But Brown excelled in the knowledge of our general nature. Man, in the abstract, seems to have been his favourite study. He delighted to contemplate him in reference to the universe, as a being forming an important link in the chain of creation, subject to certain laws and destinies which he cannot control, and liable, at the same time, to mutations of condition, powerfully affecting his well-being, which are greatly influenced by the results of his own volition. Godwin's personages are, in general, the artificial men and women of the

world, whose fortunes and characters are operated upon, and very much modified, by the institutions of society. Brown's heroes and heroines, it is true, are also of this world, for they are human beings; but their conduct and fortunes seem to flow more from their natural condition and internal impulses, than from the operation of institutions, the influence of fashion, or the collisions of worldly competition.

But the great characteristic by which the novels of Brown are distinguished from all others, is the profound rationality of his personages, and their perpetual proneness to weigh the results of their actions before they are committed. Notwithstanding this habit of prudential calculation, his works do not contain a greater proportion of discreet and well-conducted personages than are to be found in productions which represent the transactions as resulting from less premeditation. The villains of Brown's creation are the most finished of all villains—deliberating ones. They are seldom driven by the irresistible agency of external circumstances to the commission of evil. They deliberate as if they had the free choice of action; they investigate and compare results, and at length, from determined preference—not from sudden impulse—they adopt the course which is criminal. On the other hand, his virtuous characters are doubly so, on account of their adhering rigidly to what is right, despite of every inconvenience and hardship to which they may be thereby exposed, and of which their premeditating habits have sufficiently apprized them.

We have thus far descanted on the general character of these remarkable novels. We shall now approach them more closely, and speak of each in reference to its peculiar merits—for, although there never was a series of fictitious works more similar in their leading features and prominent outlines, yet each is founded on a special basis, and unfolds events and characters peculiar to itself. The series consists of six different works—*Wieland*, *Arthur Mervyn*, *Edgar Huntly*, *Ormond*, *Jane Talbot*, and *Clara Howard*, neither of which is extended beyond one moderate duodecimo volume, except *Arthur Mervyn*, which consists of two. We have here arranged them in the order of their enumeration in the edition before us; and we believe, that in the same order their respective merits may be justly estimated.

Wieland, the first of the series, is undoubtedly the most singular and magnificent of them all. We know, indeed, of no narrative more powerfully conceived, and more impressively written than this. A tone of awful solemnity pervades it, which in some places arises to a degree of terrible intensity, sufficient to agitate the firmest nerves. It is, also, wonderfully original. We know of no model after which it might have been

constructed. To neither its plot, its characters, nor its design, are we aware of any prototype. It relates disasters and sufferings of the wildest and most heart-rending description that can befall humanity. Its design, as well as its execution, is remote from every thing trite or common-place. It would seem almost impossible, at this age of the world, to discover any fresh topic of moral instruction. But the lesson taught in this work, if not absolutely new, has so rarely been made the subject of moral inculcation, that it possesses all the air and effect of originality. The delusions of mind which sometimes arise from the impression of unaccountable sights and sounds, are painted in such strong colours, and the calamities which they produce are illustrated by such awful examples, that a lesson is given against their indulgence, which must be felt and remembered by every reader.

The scenes of the story are in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Indeed all these novels are truly American in their localities. With the exception of a small portion, or rather episode, of Edgar Huntly, the scenes of which are in Ireland, all the events narrated in these works, take place on American soil. No exotic scenery, nor borrowed imagery in the descriptions of external nature, is introduced. Brown drew all his illustrations, as he drew his characters and his reflections, from the stores of his own mind. He borrowed nothing from books. He needed not to borrow. The abundance of his own resources is so apparent in every page, that it may be safely conjectured, that it would have cost him more trouble to either borrow or imitate, than to write in his own peculiar way, from his immediate impulses and reflections.

But to return to the novel of *Wieland*. The narrator of this affecting story is supposed to be the sister of the hero; and a most powerful narrator she is of her brother's virtues, delusions, and terrible calamities. A tendency to the religious fanaticism from which these fatal delusions arise, is represented as hereditary in the family of *Wieland*. His grandfather was a high-born German, who offended his relations by marrying the daughter of a *Hamburg* merchant. He was also of a literary turn. The fair relater informs us, that his life was spent in the composition of dramatic pieces, at a time when there were so few works of the kind in the *Saxon* dialect, "that he may be considered as the founder of the *German Theatre*; and that the modern poet of the same name sprung from the same family, and perhaps surpassed but little, in the fruitfulness of his invention or the soundness of his taste, the elder *Wieland*." This dramatist died early in life. His only son was, by the *Hamburg* merchant in whose care he was left, apprenticed to a *London* trader, in whose service he passed seven years.

During this period he became a sectary. His whole conversation abounded with scriptural allusions. His air became sedate and mournful. All levities of speech and behaviour were proscribed. He arduously cultivated a sentiment of fear, and a belief in the awfulness of the Deity. He became, at length, impressed with the notion, that it was his duty to propagate the Gospel among the heathen nations. On the expiration of his term of service, he embarked for this country, in order to preach Christianity to the Indians. He landed at Philadelphia with a sum of money, to which he had become entitled by the will of his grandfather, the Hamburger. Being naturally timid, he became terrified at the danger of visiting the savages for the irritating purpose of overturning their religion. For a while, therefore, he relinquished his design, and set himself down to the cultivation of a farm which he purchased on the Schuylkill, a few miles from the city. Here he married a woman of a quiet disposition, but, like himself, of slender capacity.

This good man formed a peculiar system of worship for himself. He built a kind of temple on a rock, which overlooked the Schuylkill, to which he retired, every morning and evening, to pay his devotions in solitude, permitting his wife to indulge in her own mode of worship, which was of a more social description. It was in this temple that he met with a disaster of a mysterious and awful nature, which terminated his life. His son, the principal subject of this extraordinary work, inherited all the religious peculiarity of his father's temperament. He was particularly impressed with an awful sense of the obedience which he owed to the will of the Supreme Being. This feeling operated on him so intensely, that it might be said to form the reigning passion of his life. It was, at least, the chief object he had in view in all his actions; and from an unfortunate and irrational direction given to this intense piety, sprung the terrible calamities which overpowered and destroyed both his family and himself.

Wieland, at an early age, married a beautiful and virtuous woman, to whom he was devotedly attached. At the time his unparalleled calamities so suddenly assailed him, he was the father of four charming children. His only sister, the narrator, an amiable and high-minded girl, occupied a residence of her own, at a short distance from his. The brother of his wife, an intelligent young man, named Pleyel, also resided in the neighbourhood. This young man was attached to Wieland's sister, and became, in consequence, their frequent visiter. These are the names, and such were the situations, of the principal personages in this extraordinary history. Mutually attached, affluent, respected, virtuous, nothing seemed in prospect for either of them, but a long life of as perfect happiness as this world can

afford. The only other conspicuous character in the work, is a mysterious being, of singular appearance and manners, named Carwin, who cherished a remarkable predilection for prowling about their neighbourhood. As he was a man of great sagacity and much information, he was sometimes admitted into their society; but his uncouth habits, and sceptical opinions on preternatural subjects, prevented their indulging him in any great degree of intimacy.

Shortly after the appearance of Carwin in their neighbourhood, Wieland and his sister began to be disturbed by unaccountable voices, sometimes proceeding from invisible sources, and sometimes accompanied by the sudden and momentary appearance of strange faces. These, by Wieland, were uniformly ascribed to a supernatural agency. Pleyel endeavoured, but always unsatisfactorily, to account for them by natural causes, or delusions of the senses. Clara, Wieland's sister, was perplexed, and could bring herself to form no definite opinion. At length, the operation of these voices upon the credulous mind of Wieland, produced the most terrible effects. They imposed upon him commands of the most dreadful nature, which he believed to proceed immediately from Heaven, for the purpose of trying the extent of his submission to the Divine will. In obedience to these awful mandates, he murders his wife and children, and his sister only escapes from him by accident. He is brought to the bar of justice. He is tried—he is convicted—for he denies not the commission of the deeds, although he insists that they are not crimes, but acts of duty, and demonstrations of his implicit obedience to the commands of God.

We extract a portion of his address to the court, on being called upon for his defence. It will throw light on the character and history of the unfortunate Wieland, and at the same time, furnish the reader with a fair specimen of Brown's literary style.

"Who are they whom I have devoted to death? My wife—the little ones that drew their being from me—* * * * Think ye that malice could have urged me to this deed? Hide your audacious fronts from the scrutiny of Heaven. Take refuge in some cavern, unvisited by human eyes. Ye may deplore your wickedness or folly, but ye cannot expiate it.

"Think not that I speak for your sakes. Hug to your hearts this detestable infatuation. Deem me still a murderer, and drag me to untimely death. I make no effort to dispel your illusion; I utter not a word to cure you of your sanguinary folly; but there are probably some in this assembly, who have come from far; for their sakes, whose distance has disabled from knowing me, I will tell what I have done, and why.

"It is needless to say, that God is the object of my supreme passion. I have cherished, in his presence, a single and upright heart. I have thirsted for the knowledge of his will. I have burnt with ardour to approve my faith and my obedience.

"My days have been spent in searching for the revelation of that will; but my days have been mournful, because my search failed. I solicited direction. I

turned on every side where glimmerings of light could be discovered. I have not been wholly uninformed : but my knowledge has always stopped short of certainty. Dissatisfaction has insinuated itself into all my thoughts. My purposes have been pure ; my wishes indefatigable ; but not till lately were these purposes accomplished, and these wishes fully gratified.

"I thank thee, my Father, for thy bounty ; that thou didst not ask a less sacrifice than this ; that thou placedst me in a condition to testify my submission to thy will ! What have I withheld which it was thy pleasure to exact ? Now may I, with a dauntless and erect eye, claim my reward, since I have given the treasure of my soul.

"I was at my own house ; it was late in the evening, my sister had gone to the city, but proposed to return. * * * * Recent events, not easily explained, had suggested the existence of some danger ; but this danger was without a distinct form in my imagination, and scarcely ruffled my tranquillity.

"Time passed, and my sister did not arrive ; her house is at some distance from mine, and though her arrangements had been made with a view to residing with us, it was possible, that through forgetfulness, or the occurrence of unforeseen emergencies, she had returned to her own dwelling.

"Hence it was conceived proper, that I should ascertain the truth by going thither. I went. On my way, my mind was full of those ideas that related to my intellectual condition. In the torrent of fervid conceptions, I lost sight of my purpose. Sometimes I stood still ; sometimes I wandered from my path, and experienced some difficulty, on recovering from my fit of musing, to regain it.

"The series of my thoughts is easily traced. At first, every vein beat with raptures known only to the man whose parental and conjugal love is without limits, and the cup of whose desires, immense as it is, overflows with gratification. * * * * The Author of my being was likewise the dispenser of every gift with which that being was embellished. The service to which a benefactor like this was entitled, could not be circumscribed. * * * *

"For a time, my contemplations soared above earth and its inhabitants. I stretched forth my hands ; I lifted my eyes, and exclaimed, O ! that I might be admitted to thy presence ; that mine were the supreme delight of knowing thy will, and of performing it ! The blissful privilege of direct communication with thee, and of listening to the audible enunciation of thy pleasure ! What task would I not undertake, what privation would I not cheerfully endure, to testify my love for thee ? * * * *

"In this mood I entered the house of my sister. It was vacant. * * * I had no light, and might have known by external observation, that the house was without any inhabitant. With this, however, I was not satisfied, and the object of my search not appearing, I prepared to return.

"The darkness required some caution in descending the stairs. I stretched my hand to seize the balustrade, by which I might regulate my steps. How shall I describe the lustre, which, at that moment, burst upon my vision !

"I was dazzled. My organs were bereaved of their activity. My eyelids were half closed, and my hands withdrawn from the balustrade. A nameless fear chilled all my veins, and I stood motionless. It seemed as if some powerful effulgence covered me, like a mantle. I opened my eyes, and found all about me luminous and glowing. It was the element of heaven that flowed around. Nothing but a fiery stream was at first visible ; but, anon, a shrill voice from behind called upon me to attend.

"I turned. It is forbidden to describe what I saw ; words, indeed, would be wanting to the task. The lineaments of that being whose veil was now lifted, and whose visage beamed upon my sight, no hues of pencil or of language can display.

"As it spoke, the accents thrilled to my heart. 'Thy prayers are heard. In proof of thy faith, render me thy wife. This is the victim I choose. Call her hither, and here let her fall.'—The sound, and visage, and light, vanished at once. * * * *

"My wife, I exclaimed ! Oh God ! substitute some other victim. Make me not the butcher of my wife. My own blood is cheap. This will I pour out before

thee with a willing heart ; but spare, I beseech thee, this precious life, or commission some other than her husband to perform the bloody deed.

"In vain. The conditions were prescribed. The decree had gone forth, and nothing remained but to execute it." * * *

And the unhappy man did execute it. He hastened to his residence, persuaded his wife to accompany him to his sister's. When he had her on the destined spot, "I brought thee hither," said he, "to fulfil a divine command. I am appointed thy destroyer, and destroy thee I must." An appalling scene follows. She pleaded, she struggled for life ; but in vain. He succeeded, after many efforts, in strangling her.

"Her eyeballs started from their sockets. Grimness and distortion," said he, "took place of all that used to bewitch me into transport, and subdue me into reverence. I was commissioned to kill thee, but not to torment thee, and prolong thy death. Haggard, pale, and lifeless, at length, thou ceasedst to contend with thy destiny.—This was a moment of triumph. Thus had I successfully subdued the stubbornness of human passions. * * * Such was the elation of my thoughts, that I even broke into laughter. I clapped my hands, and exclaimed, It is done ! My sacred duty is fulfilled ! To that I have sacrificed, O my God ! thy last and best gift, my wife ! * * * This rapture quickly subsided. I looked again at my wife. * * * Where was her bloom ! These deadly and blood-suffused orbs but ill resembled the azure and ecstatic tenderness of her eyes. The lucid stream that meandered over that bosom, the glow of love that was wont to set upon that cheek, are much unlike these livid stains and this hideous deformity. Alas ! these were the traces of agony ; the grip of the assassin had been there !

"I will not dwell upon my lapse into desperate and outrageous sorrow. The breath of Heaven that supported me was withdrawn, and I sunk into *mere man*. I leaped from the floor ; I dashed my head against the wall ; I uttered screams of horror. I panted after torments and pain. Eternal fire, and the bickerings of hell, compared with what I felt, were music and a bed of roses.

"I thank my God that this degeneracy was transient, that he deigned once more to raise me aloft. I thought upon what I had done as a sacrifice to duty, and *was calm*. My wife was dead ; but I reflected, that though this source of consolation was closed, yet others were still open. If the transports of a husband were no more, the feelings of a father had still scope for exercise. When remembrance of their mother would excite too keen a pang, I would look upon them, and *be comforted*.

"While I revolved these ideas, new warmth flowed upon my heart—I was wrong. These feelings were the growth of selfishness. Of this I was not aware, and to dispel the mist that obscured my perceptions, a new effulgence and a new mandate were necessary.

"From these thoughts I was recalled by a ray that shot into the room. A voice spake, like that which I had before heard—'Thou hast done well ; but all is not done—the sacrifice is incomplete—thy children must be offered—they must perish with their mother!'"

This second mandate was obeyed, and the innocents were sacrificed. Still the terrible injunctions did not cease. The sister of the unhappy victim of delusion, and her lover, Pleyel, were next ordered to slaughter. The arrest of Wieland, however, prevented this extension of his murderous career. The laws regarded him as a lunatic. To prevent further mischief, rather than for the purpose of punishment, he was confined with chains, and secured in a cell. By some accident, however, he escaped. He hastened to his sister's dwelling, in order to per-

form the mandate in relation to her. He found Carwin present. She begged of Carwin to save her. He left the apartment without reply; and just as Wieland was aiming at her a blow, a voice burst from the ceiling, ordering him to desist. Wieland recognised the sound, and joyfully obeyed. Carwin returned to the apartment. He had, just before the arrival of Wieland, in a moment of remorse, acknowledged to Clara, that from him had proceeded the mysterious voices which had occasioned such calamities among her friends; that he was possessed of the gift of ventriloquism, and that he had used it from no malicious motive, but merely in order to sport with the superstitious feelings and fears of her brother and herself—for she is also represented in the work as having been duped and terrified by unaccountable sounds. In the presence of her brother, she accuses Carwin as having been the author of the evils that had befallen him. Wieland fiercely catechises him on the subject. The confession of the latter, removes from Wieland the delusion that he had been acting in obedience to the divine command. The unfortunate victim of deception, having thus lost the support of his fancied obedience to the God whom he adored, sees at once the horrible extent of his guilt and of his bereavement. He sinks into despair, and with a penknife which he finds on the floor, suddenly puts an end to his own existence.

Such is the termination of the horrors of this extraordinary tale. It is a production which no human being can read without feeling deep interest; and no one of ordinary sensibility, without sympathizing almost to agony with the sufferers. Nor is there any adequate judge of the intellectual powers of man, but will admire their extraordinary display in the vivid conceptions and forcible delineations of incidents and characters contained in this work. Yet let us not be hyperbolic in our praise. Let not our admiration of the powers exhibited, render us blind to the faults that exist. This work has one great blemish, which notwithstanding its innumerable and unique beauties, must strike the most superficial reader. The explanation of the mysterious occurrences is altogether unsatisfactory. The faculty of ventriloquism possessed by Carwin, is insufficient to account for the visual deceptions—the luminous appearances, and apparition of faces—not to mention the explosion in the temple, and the violent blow inflicted on the elder Wieland, which occasioned his death.

Moreover, the character of Carwin is not only too improbable, but is utterly inconsistent with itself. Had he been represented as a perfectly malicious demon, delighting in the bloodshed and horrors which he occasioned, we might have overlooked or forgiven the improbability of such a sheer fiend, as he would then have been, existing in human shape. But he is represented

as free from malice, and intending no evil. In his confession to the sister of Wieland, he says, that he acted merely for amusement, without anticipating the possibility of the evils which ensued. In reply to her accusations, "I am not this villain," he exclaims; "I have slain no one; I have prompted none to slay; I have handled a tool of wonderful efficacy, without malignant intentions, but without caution; ample will be the punishment of my temerity, if my conduct has contributed to this evil." How can this be reconciled with his commendation of Wieland for having slain his wife, and his diabolic injunction to complete the sacrifice by the destruction of his children? And after they were destroyed, to order Clara and Pleyel to be added to the list of victims, could not surely comport with harmless intentions. Yet an effort seems to be made by the author to excuse or palliate the agency of Carwin, and to throw on the credulity and weak-mindedness of Wieland, the whole guilt of these horrible transactions.

We shall not urge the charge which has been often made against this work, that the whole story is too improbable, and the actors in it too unlike human beings, to admit of even the transient credibility which should attach to a novel. We think that this charge is not altogether just. The incidents are certainly extraordinary; they were intended to be so. The characters were also intended to be extraordinary. In effecting these intentions, the very charge proves the author's success. If the transactions had been more conformable to worldly experience, and the personages more like the ordinary classes of mankind, the work would certainly have been more natural, and, no doubt, would have been to many readers more attractive. But it would have been less remarkable for those bold demonstrations of genius it now possesses in its wild originality, the force and grandeur of its delineations, its combinations of awfulness and pathos, and the singular scope and nature of its contemplations and reasonings.

Arthur Mervyn, in point of importance, as well as of arrangement, is the next novel of the series contained in the edition before us. It is much the longest, and by far the most diversified in its characters and details. It is inferior to Wieland in grandeur of conception and pathetic effect. But, if we may use the expression, it possesses more common-place interest; it belongs more to this world, and is therefore better calculated to win favour from the generality of readers. On commencing its perusal, after having passed through the sublimely agitating scenes of Wieland, we felt as if we were descending from the region of supernatural beings to the residence and society of men. In Wieland, our faculties were strained to a height of sublime terror, and our feelings agitated with preternatural horrors, from

which we were partially relieved by engaging in the more earthly story of Arthur Mervyn.

The scenes of this work are laid in Philadelphia, during the pestilential season of 1793, when the population of this city suffered such dreadful calamities from the ravages of the yellow fever. The design of writing it is stated by the author in his preface, to have been to snatch from oblivion some of the instances of fortitude and constancy which were exhibited, and to transmit to posterity a faithful picture of the condition of this city, during that fatal period. Brown has thus tried his descriptive powers on an awful subject, which had already occupied the attention, and called forth the talents of some of the greatest masters of literary delineation in both ancient and modern times. Thucydides is the earliest of these writers, and his accurate description of the Plague of Athens, is a model of this kind of composition. Lucretius, at the conclusion of his work on the Nature of Things, has given an imitation of it, which Good has but tolerably rendered into English.

Boccaccio, in his Introduction to the Decameron, has an exceedingly graphic account of the great plague which desolated Florence in the year 1348. The same distemper, in the following year, reached England, and nearly depopulated London, which is said to have then contained about a hundred thousand inhabitants. The infection, it was supposed, had been brought to London by a ship from Florence. Mr. Galt, in his novel of Rothelan, alludes to this circumstance, and takes occasion to describe the appearance of the city during the continuance of the pestilence, in the quaint style of the ancient chronicle from which the work is represented to be taken. He says,—

“It was as if Heaven had repented the making of mankind, and was shovelling them all into the sepulchre. Justice was forgotten, and her courts deserted. The terrified jailors fled from the felons that were in fetters; the innocent and the guilty leagued themselves together, and kept within their prisons for safety; the grass grew in the market places; the cattle went moaning up and down the fields, wondering what had become of their keepers; the rooks and the ravens came into the towns, and built their nests in mute belfries; silence was universal, save when some infected wretch was heard clamouring at a window. For a time, all commerce was in coffins and shrouds; but even that ended. Shrift there was none; churches and chapels were open, but neither priest nor penitent entered; all went to the charnel-house. The sexton and the physician were cast into the same deep and wide grave; the testator and his heirs and executors were hurled from the same cart into the same hole together. . . . The seams of the *swiflorless* ships yawned to the sun. . . . The dogs banded together, having lost their masters, and ran howling over all the land; horses perished of famine in their stalls. . . . Little children went wandering up and down, and numbers were seen dead in all corners.”

We insert the above passage, in order that our readers may compare it with the following description of the plague of Philadelphia, extracted from the work before us. We must observe,

that our countryman's description was written at least twenty years before that of Galt.

"My thoughts were called away from pursuing these inquiries, by a rumour which had gradually swelled to formidable dimensions; and which, at length, reached us in our quiet retreats. The city we were told was involved in confusion and panic, for a pestilential disease had begun its destructive progress. Magistrates and citizens were flying to the country. The numbers of the sick multiplied beyond all example, even in the pest-affected cities of the Levant. The malady was malignant and unsparing.

"The usual occupations and amusements of life were at an end. Terror had exterminated all sentiments of nature. Wives were deserted by husbands, and children by parents. Some had shut themselves in their houses, and debarred themselves from all communication with the rest of mankind. The consternation of others had destroyed their understanding, and their misguided steps hurried them into the midst of the danger which they had previously laboured to shun. Men were seized by the disease in the streets; passengers fled from them; entrance into their own dwellings was denied them; they perished in the public ways.

"The chambers of disease were deserted, and the sick left to die of negligence. None could be found to remove the lifeless bodies. Their remains, suffered to decay by piece-meal, filled the air with deadly exhalations, and added tenfold to the devastation. * * *

"This rumour was of a nature to absorb and suspend the whole soul. A certain sublimity is connected with enormous dangers, that imparts to our consternation or our pity a tincture of the pleasing. This at least may be experienced by those who are beyond the reach of peril. My own person was exposed to no hazard. I had leisure to conjure up terrific images, and to personate the witnesses and sufferers of this calamity. This employment was not enjoined upon me by necessity, but was ardently pursued, and must, therefore, have been recommended by some nameless charm.

"Others were differently affected. As often as the tale was embellished with new incidents, or enforced by new testimony, the hearer grew pale, his breath was stifled by inquietudes, his blood was chilled, and his stomach was bereaved of its usual energies. A temporary indisposition was produced in many. Some were haunted by a melancholy, bordering upon madness; and some, in consequence of sleepless panics, for which no cause could be assigned, and for which no opiates could be found, were attacked by lingering or mortal diseases."

These were the observations of Arthur Mervyn, while in the country, at a distance from the danger. Benevolent and upright purposes called him to the city. He obeyed the call with much resolution, though not totally destitute of fear for the result. The reader will excuse the length of the following extract, on account of its truly graphic and impressive character.

"These meditations did not enfeeble my resolution or slacken my pace. In proportion as I drew near the city, the tokens of its calamitous condition became more apparent. Every farm-house was filled with supernumerary tenants; fugitives from home; and haunting the skirts of the road, eager to detain every passenger with inquiries after news. The passengers were numerous; for the tide of emigration was by no means exhausted. Some were on foot, bearing in their countenances the tokens of their recent terror, and filled with mournful reflections on the forlornness of their state.

"Families of weeping mothers and dismayed children, attended with a few pieces of indispensable furniture, were carried in vehicles of every form. The parent or husband had perished; and the price of some moveable, or the pittance handed forth by public charity, had been expended to purchase the means of retiring from this theatre of disasters, though uncertain and hopeless of accommodation in the neighbouring districts. * * *

"The sun had nearly set before I reached the precincts of the city. I pursued the path I had formerly taken, and entered High Street after night-fall. * *

"The market-place, and each side of this magnificent avenue, were illuminated, as before, by lamps; but between the verge of Schuylkill and the heart of the city, I met not more than a dozen figures; and these were ghost-like, wrapt in cloaks, from behind which they cast upon me glances of wonder and suspicion, and as I approached, changed their course to avoid touching me. Their clothes were sprinkled with vinegar; and their nostrils defended from contagion by some powerful perfume.

"I cast a look upon the houses, which I recollected to have formerly been, at this hour, brilliant with lights, resounding with lively voices, and thronged with busy faces. Now they were closed above and below; dark, and without tokens of being inhabited. * * * These tokens were new, and awakened all my panics. Death seemed to hover over this scene, and I dreaded that the floating pestilence had already alighted on my frame. I had scarcely overcome these tremors, when I approached a house, the door of which was opened, and before which stood a vehicle, which I presently recognised to be a *hearse*. * * * Presently, a coffin, borne by two men, issued from the house. The driver was a negro, but his companions were white. Their features were marked by ferocious indifference to danger or pity. One of them, as he assisted in thrusting the coffin into the cavity provided for it, said, 'I'll be damned if I think the poor dog was quite dead. It wasn't the *fever* that ailed him, but the sight of the poor girl and her mother on the floor. I wonder how they all got into that room? What carried them there?'

"The other surlily replied, 'Their legs, to be sure.' 'But, what should they hug together in one room for?' 'To save us trouble, to be sure. And I thank them, with all my heart. But, damn it, it wasn't right to put him in his coffin before the breath was fairly gone. I thought the last look he gave me, told me to stay a few minutes.' 'Pshaw! he could not live. The sooner dead, the better for him, as well as for us. Did you mark how he eyed us when we carried away his wife and daughter? I never cried in my life, since I was knee-high, but, curse me, if I ever felt in better tune for the business than just then.—Hey!' continued he, looking, and observing me, standing a few paces distant, 'what's wanted? Any body dead?'

But we fear we have already occupied too much space with these descriptions. The awfulness of the topic, and its rarity as an object for the exertion of literary skill, together with our conviction, that in easy and correct sketching, and in strong and impressive colouring, our author has been excelled by none of his competitors, have induced us to quote so largely from his effort as we have done. Such descriptions, it is true, have a horror-breathing spirit around them, which it might be supposed would render them peculiarly disagreeable. But, to the generality of minds, the fact is otherwise. From whatever is sublime, although it should be awful and terrific, we derive enjoyment of an elevated and fascinating character. Amidst the uproar and commotion of the contending elements in a tempest, if we are in any degree sheltered from its fury, with what exalted delight can we look on? With the same feelings of enjoyment do we witness dramatic representations, and read tragic tales, of calamity and horror.

It is indeed a strange principle of our nature, which causes us to derive pleasure from such sources; but it is a principle that will be readily recognised and admitted by all. Nor is it altogether

inexplicable. All sentient beings are fond of excitement; and there is nothing which the active spirit of man more abhors than a state of torpor and insipidity.

“Who that would ask a heart to dulness wed,
The waveless calm, the slumber of the dead?—
No; the wild bliss of nature needs alloy,
And fear and sorrow fan the fire of joy.”

Nor does it argue the existence of any inhumane or depraved feeling, that we are capable of drawing enjoyment from representations of sorrow and distress. We may pity, we may deplore the affliction we behold. The *joy of grief*, is an expression—it is a sensation, intelligible to every mind. The imagination often feasts on the horrible. It must not be supposed, however, that the pleasure arises from the horror, or that joy is derived from the mere contemplation of misery. Scenes of affliction are often deeply interesting, from being connected with objects really worthy of admiration and sympathy, which show themselves in more glowing colours and picturesque attitudes, from the darkness and gloom that surround them.

What species of penal visitation can be so awful to human contemplation as the plague? It is emphatically “the scourge of God;” and of all other instruments of Divine vengeance, possesses features the most terrific and sublime. It is more destructive than the thunders of battle, or the roaring of the ocean in its rage. The concussion of the earthquake, the bursting of the volcano, or the sweeping of the tornado, are harmless to man, in comparison with the deadly breath of pestilence. It is the mightiest instrument of destruction used by the “King of Terrors.” When he brandishes this fatal weapon, nations fall before him; he marches in triumph over myriads; he spreads desolation about the memorials of human wisdom and grandeur. When HE who governs all, goes forth in his strength, and clothed in his terror—when the Almighty visits the earth in anger, and tramples in vengeance on the offending generations of men—then, according to the sublime language of the sublimest of all books, “Before him goes the pestilence!” Is it surprising, therefore, that such a scene should attract even while it terrifies, as the glance of the reptile fascinates the eye of the charmed bird that shudders to behold it. Besides, to those who are under no apprehension of ever experiencing or witnessing the horrors produced by this mighty destroyer, descriptions of them gratify curiosity, excite interest, and awaken sympathy in a sufficient degree to overbalance whatever unpleasant feelings the contemplation of them might produce.

We have enlarged so much on the subject of pestilence, to illustrate which was the main object of Brown in writing this work, that we shall refrain from giving any detail of its busy

and complicated plot. We must observe, however, that the character of Welbeck in this production, is that of one of the most original and effectively drawn villains to be found in romance. There is nothing in these novels which so forcibly proves, that their author possessed, in an eminent degree, the rare faculty of imparting to characters of the same class, an individuality of features sufficient to show, that the conception of each was a totally separate and distinct operation of the mind. Each of his novels contains a villain, who makes a prominent figure in the work; but no two of these villains have the least resemblance to each other. Carwin is the villain of *Wieland*; for, in spite of all the softening down of his conduct in the explanatory portion of the work, he is still a villain—and one, too, worthy of all detestation. He is a mysterious demon, who, from unseen positions, wantonly and remorselessly launches the bolts of destruction upon the peaceful and the virtuous, from no other motive than a diabolical propensity to do mischief.

Welbeck, the *villain* of *Arthur Mervyn*, has nothing of the mystical demon about him. He is a downright scoundrel, actuated by the usual feelings and impulses of human depravity. He is a man of the world. He is a cheat, a hypocrite, a debauchee, a seducer of female innocence,—a coward, and a murderer. The author does not, as in the case of Carwin, make any attempt to palliate the enormities of this man. He does not invest him with a single redeeming quality. He endows him with no splendid atrocity—no amiable weakness. All his actions are mean, selfish, degrading, profligate, ungenerous, and inhuman. In fact, the whole man is utterly execrable. His fate, too, severe as it is, excites contempt instead of pity. We rejoice at the detection of his schemes—at the exposure of his depravity; and when he dies, loathsomely, of a putrid fever, within the walls of a prison, we cannot spare him a sigh.

How much more is Brown to be commended for giving to this highly-finished portrait of a villain, a colouring and a fate so dismal and forbidding, than the far-trumpeted author who has attempted to give attraction to the wickedness of Paul Clifford? Brown's mind was too pure—he was too sincerely a lover of integrity and good morals, to render vice captivating by meretricious decorations. His great genius was never prostituted, like that of some of our more recent writers of unworthy celebrity, for the purpose of undermining virtuous principles, or of bringing into contempt the most useful and most sacred institutions of society.

The novel of Edgar Huntly now claims our attention. It is the wildest in its scenery, and perhaps the most romantic in its incidents, of any of the series. The author, in his preface, professes

to have written it with the intention of producing a novel exclusively American. He observes,—

"The field of investigation opened to us by our own country, differs essentially from those which exist in Europe. The sources of amusement to the fancy, and instruction to the heart, that are peculiar to ourselves, are equally numerous and inexhaustible. It is the purpose of this work to profit by some of these sources; to exhibit a series of adventures, growing out of the condition of our country, and connected with one of the most common and most wonderful diseases or affections of the human frame."

The disease referred to is that of sleep-walking, certainly a wonderful, and, we believe, not a common affection. In these "*Memoirs of a Sleep-walker*," for such is the secondary title of the work, his actions, during the paroxysm, are, we fear, carried beyond the point of credibility; and have a tendency, by their extravagance, to weaken the interest of the reader in the story, by destroying the illusion of the narrative, and reminding him too forcibly that he is perusing fiction. In every respect, indeed, this is an inferior performance to either of those on which we have been commenting. It has neither the awful and mysterious magnificence which characterizes *Wieland*, nor the animating variety of incidents and characters to be found in *Arthur Mervyn*. We are at a loss to know which of its characters is the hero of the work. It cannot be Edgar Huntly, although he lends it his name; for his adventures constitute but a very small portion of the performance, and are brought to no conclusion. He is the narrator of the tale, which he relates in an epistolary form to a Miss Waldegrave, for whom, it would appear, from some passages, that he has a kind of platonic love, mingled with some prudential attachment to the sum of seven or eight thousand dollars of which she had become possessed by the death of her brother. This brother was murdered by some unknown person, and from some unknown motive, for he is said to have had no enemy, and it was only by the discovery of documents among his papers after his death, that he was found to have possessed the money we have mentioned, which was lodged, in his name, in one of the Philadelphia banks. He was supposed to have died poor, his only apparent dependence having been upon the emoluments of a country-school. That this money was his, there was sufficient evidence in the credit he had on the bank-books; but how he became its owner, was as mysterious and unknown as the motive and author of his murder.

The mystery in relation to this money, however, was soon explained by the claim made upon it by a seafaring gentleman, supported by circumstantial proofs sufficient to satisfy any conscientious mind. The claimant admits that he has no legal proofs, and relies for justice solely upon the integrity and convictions, as to the validity of his claim, of Miss Waldegrave, the present possessor of his property. Edgar assures him that this lady will

do him justice. Indeed, whenever he speaks of either her or himself, he represents both as immoveably upright. The restoration of the money is therefore naturally expected. But we do not hear that it ever took place. There is no more said of the seafaring man. The affairs of Miss Waldegrave, too, are consigned to neglect. The most probable inference from this silence of her lover, Edgar, is, that she gave up the money, and that he, in consequence, gave up the design of making her his wife. These are the two personages whom the author seems to have intended for the hero and heroine of his work. If the reader thinks proper to take them as such, we have no objection; but, for ourselves, we must repudiate them from such a dignified station, for they possess no attribute either of interest or moment, that can entitle them to it.

The most interesting female in the performance, is a pretty Irish girl, named Clarice. She captivates a young countryman of her own, called Clithero, which, by the way, is rather an odd name for an Irishman. From the days of king Heremon to those of William IV., we believe no son of Erin ever bore such an appellation. Now we conceive it very injudicious in an author to apply inappropriate names to his personages. What would we think of Sir Walter Scott, if he had given to his Scotch peasants Italian names, or Russian titles to his English nobles? Would we not at once feel the incongruity, and condemn its absurdity? What renders the misnomer in relation to this Irish youth, the more observable, is, that he performs by far the most important part among the dramatis personæ of this work. In fact, the whole interest of it revolves around him. Were he absent from it, insipidity and insignificance would be its only qualities, and it would be totally unworthy of emanating from the same mind that produced *Wieland* and *Arthur Mervyn*. The remarkable character and singular adventures of Clithero, however, elevate this work to a high place in the scale of romance-writing, and entitle it to a fair participation in the applause which justice will for ever accord to the extraordinary series of fictions of which it forms a part. The virtues, the misfortunes, the enthusiasm, the remorse, and the singular malady of this youth, are depicted with all the force and fervour of the genius of Brown. His sorrows and his despair are not, perhaps, raised to the sublime and awful altitude of *Wieland's*, but they are conceived in the same spirit of intensity, and exhibited with the same masterly command over the imaginations and feelings of men. A delusive idea, proceeding from erroneous notions of duty, similar to what actuated *Wieland*, impels him to the commission of crime. This produces remorse, and a succession of the most dreadful sufferings, which, at length, terminate, like those of *Wieland*, in the commission of suicide.

We now come to the novel of *Ormond*, which is distinguished by containing a most attractive portrait of female loveliness, virtue, and fortitude. In the character of *Constantia Dudley*, there is something so endearing, so pathetic, and beautiful, while, at the same time, every thing is so apparently probable, so genuinely natural, that we could never weary in contemplating it. Her unshaken fortitude amidst all reverses, her untiring filial affection under the most trying circumstances, and the triumphant heroism she displayed in her last desperate and bloody struggle in defence of her honour, render her character altogether, not only one which we must admire, but which we could worship. She is no puritan, but she has a due sense of her duty to Heaven. She is not free from all human weakness and error, for she is only a woman, but this renders her the more dear to our affections.

The character of *Ormond* is more in the style of *Godwin* than any other throughout these volumes. He is one of those metaphysical geniuses engendered by that fruitful mother of hair-brained speculative monsters, the *first* French Revolution, the great ambition of whom was to new-model society by abolishing all established institutions, and substituting their own extravagant systems in their stead. *Ormond* is just such a conception as we might suppose would naturally flow from the brain of the author of "*Political Justice*." He is a wealthy and mysterious plotter against the existing religion and governments of Christendom. But he is a libertine, and his libertinism occasions his sudden and premature destruction by the hand of *Constantia*. His political schemes, therefore, whatever they were, for we are left altogether in the dark as to their precise nature and objects, are baffled, and we receive no more information respecting them. But this article has already extended beyond the bounds we had prescribed for it. We cannot, therefore, dwell longer upon this work, than merely to say, that we consider it the best adapted of any of the series, to afford that diversified entertainment to the every-day reader which is most likely to acquire general popularity.

For the reason just mentioned, we cannot devote space to the consideration of the two remaining novels. Nor do they require it. They are both inferior to either of those on which we have commented. Still they are works of merit, displaying in their composition the ability of a deep thinker as well as of a practised writer. They could not, indeed, be otherwise, for *Brown* is their author; and nothing could proceed from the mint of his rich intellect, without having upon it the stamp of genius and high literary merit.

ART. IV.—*Annals of Philadelphia; being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, and Incidents of the City and its Inhabitants, from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders, with Facts of Olden Time of New-York City.* By JOHN F. WATSON, Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart: 1830. pp. 740.

IF the applause of all times, and all nations, has been given to those who faithfully record the annals of their country; if praise scarcely less elevated, and, perhaps, yet more sincere, has been readily bestowed on such as have preserved those delightful and interesting facts, which illustrate the lives and habits of eminent men, who, though descended to the tomb, live in the memory of generations that have succeeded them; if it be deemed a noble effort of exalted intelligence, graphically to portray the manners, the pursuits, and modes of life of various and remarkable societies of mankind, as has been done by the immortal father of history, and by the great Roman author, who has left in his sketch of the ancient Germans, a model of the deepest observation as well as of exquisite felicity of expression; if beyond all these, the meed of patriotic zeal has been assigned to those who diligently inquire and carefully hand down the bright passages which adorn the place of our own birth and peculiar affections—then surely may we be justified in assigning to the author or compiler of this great work, (for it boasts not less than seven hundred and forty closely printed pages) a place of more than ordinary distinction, since it is his to unite in its multifarious pages, specimens of each kind of merit which has thus received the approbation of mankind. His has not been the task of metamorphosing by the magic aid of scissors and of paste, old pages into new volumes; nor has his been the labour of building an immortal fame on the thoughts or researches of those who have gone before. Like the illustrious author who has secured for immortality “the history of New-York from the beginning of the world,” he seems to have found but little to his purpose in “the incredible multitude of excellent works which have been written about his country;” and he has pursued the nobler aim of rescuing from the frail records of tradition, and embodying in undying pages, innumerable facts which otherwise would have descended irrevocably to the tomb, with the venerable gentlemen and ancient gentlewomen, in whose memories they were stored, as fondly as the recollections of his own lovely Argos in the heart of the expiring companion of Æneas. “They had no poet and they died”—such has been the fate of many an illustrious man, who has adorned his own neighbourhood by actions, which, under luckier auspices, might have gained for him

the laurel of fame. Who would have known the virtues, the courage, the exploits of many a Glaucus, a Quintus, a Caius, a Thersilochus, now living in immortal fame, had they not been held up to the admiration of succeeding ages by the genius of the poet, or the coveted praise of the historian? Who would have known that in New-York, a hundred and fifty years since, no one was well dressed who did not wear at least six pair of small-clothes, had it not been for the patient researches of the illustrious Knickerbocker, through the ancient purlieus, and among the venerable grandfathers and colloquial grandmothers of that wonderful city? Who, in like manner, glorying in our own good town of brotherly love, will not rejoice to learn, from the valuable record to which we call the attention of our readers, that his ancestors "never saw such things as our Mahometan whiskers on Christian men," and that in their days, carpets were articles of luxury so wonderful and highly prized, that "persons showed strong signs of distress at being obliged to walk over them, and when urged to come in, would steal along close to the sides of the room, tip-toed, instinctively, to avoid sullyng them?" Facts like these, carefully preserved, hand down to successive generations the lessons of their ancestors, and from them they learn to change and to improve the present by the experience and wisdom of the past.

No one can be more impressed with the value of such memorials, than the author or compiler of this volume; for he assures us in the commencement of his preface, that the contemplation of them "is an impress of the Deity—our hold on immortality." He is then naturally led to allude to the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, Stonehenge and the Zodiac of Dendera, and to compare with them the abundant themes of unparalleled surprise which we discover in the march of civilization and improvement, from the first landing of our pilgrim fathers, down to our own *eventful* day—eventful, as we ascertain from his subsequent pages, on account of our canals rivaling the aqueducts of imperial Rome, our cities of the West rising by enchantment, our exports of eighty millions, our vapour vessels, our great Missouri, our freedom from despots and standing armies, and all those interesting facts which are so profitably recalled to our memories once a year, on the great national anniversary, by the genius and eloquence of innumerable orators, and which are now cited to prove, if proof indeed were wanting, the value and importance to be derived from arresting the fleeting progress of time over the traditions and customs of Philadelphia.

Nor is the zeal of our author limited to a single volume, bulky as it is—or to seven hundred and forty pages—a space evidently too limited to contain the *eventful* history of one hundred and fifty years. We learn from him, that in addition to the portion of

his researches now given to the world, two manuscript volumes—of unknown dimensions, indeed, but without doubt, of equal interest and importance—have been placed in the Philadelphia Library, and in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, whence, in time to come, some Montfaucon or Gronovius may dig rich ore to illustrate and adorn the annals of our country. A notice has also been inserted in a public journal, calling on those whose memories are stored with reminiscences of the past, to send them to the office where it is published, to be used for a future edition. In a word, our children will in all probability have the happiness of possessing a treasure which Monkbarns himself might have envied, in the shape of volumes to which the present, praiseworthy as it is in regard to dimensions, must appear as insignificant as the thin face of a macaroni fifty years since, beside a visage of the present day adorned with the flowing locks and pagan protuberancy of whiskers, which the annalist justly regards with such orthodox contempt.

Knowing the national literary propensity, to go back on all occasions, as near to Adam and the deluge as possible, we confess we were somewhat startled with the ominous title of the first chapter—"A general introductory history." To do our annalist justice, however, he does not stop long on the "general history," but despatching it in five pages, rushes at once into the middle of things. And here we may be permitted to assign just praise to the system he has adopted in the arrangement of his materials. Not pursuing the usual course of annalists, by a dry and chronological system, which obliges the weary reader to look through page after page before he can light upon an interesting fact—not dividing his volume into chapters and sections consisting of a certain number of pages, which answer no purpose that we are aware of, except to serve like taverns on the road side, where we may repose a while from the fatigues of rapid perusal—but looking to that diversity of tastes which may be reasonably supposed to sway all of us, when recurring to the lessons of our venerable progenitors, and wishing to facilitate the reference of every one to those peculiar lessons by which he may desire to profit, he has divided his work according to the subjects of which he treats, and by placing each of these at the head of the page, as well as in an ample preliminary table of contents, he has done all that the systematic student can desire. Thus we find, at the fortieth page—"Civil government embarrassing to Friends"—a title which attracts at once the interest and attention of the politician, the lawyer, the metaphysician, and the theologian; since it may well be supposed to involve deep questions affecting the social, moral, friendly, and religious intercourse of man. That there are in all communities, individuals to whom civil government is rather embarrassing, is not to be

doubted, even if it were not proved by those dark and ancient edifices, whose lofty walls and grated windows, frown with baronial grandeur amid most of the haunts of men; but the fact assumes entirely a new and more interesting aspect when it relates to our virtuous ancestors, at those times when they became "like a perplexed hen with her duck-chickens"—we use the expressive language of our author, in describing these primitive embarrassments. Again, turning over a few pages, we find "Penny-pot House and Landing," emblazoned in German characters, not unworthy to have pointed out from a sign-post the house and landing themselves, to travellers by land or water—to say nothing of the lithographic print which faces the title, and preserves for ever the counterfeit presentment of a place, which, as we learn at the same page, was early famed for its beer, was afterwards called the Jolly Tar Inn, faced the south, and was two stories high. We confess, however, that the embarrassment felt from civil government, and the Penny-pot House itself, attracted our attention infinitely less than a title which we soon after lighted upon, though not made conspicuous by German characters, nor adorned by the pencil of an admiring artist:—the title was "Bathsheba's bath and bower." We certainly can find no fault with our author for omitting a picture of this spot; the very name led us to fear that some of the naughty frolics of our venerable forefathers were to be described; and imagination was all alive to witness in their pensive, romantic, and amorous moments, swains clad in "three-square hats, wigs, and coats with four large plaits in the skirts stiffened with buckram, and breeches very short above the stride," and yielding damsels sighing in "mush-mellon or wagon bonnets, six russell thickly quilted petticoats inlaid with wool, and fine worsted green stockings with gay clocks surmounted with bunches of tulips." Alas! the researches of our antiquary have been in vain; he has but been able to fix the spot where such scenes may well be supposed to have occurred, and as this was near the corner of Second and Dock streets, fancy has full scope to transform custom-house, insurance offices, and shops, into those "charming scenes of rural beauty" which were thought to resemble the spot consecrated by the loves of the frail spouse of Uriah. "John Kinsey's strange death"—"The celebrated tilt and tournament called the Meschianza"—"The bloody election of 1742"—are, with several other titles, highly attractive; but we feel that in adverting to them thus unmethodically, we are deviating from that system which we are in duty bound to pursue, when discussing the merits and character of a work like the present.

To proceed then somewhat more in order. The first division, after the general history to which we have alluded, is "Colonial and Philadelphia History." From this we learn, that the first

explorer of our bay and river was a countryman of the illustrious Hendrick Hudson, by name captain Kornelis Jacobus Méy, who, as early as 1623, built fort Nassau, at Gloucester point. More fortunate than the Trojan navigator, he had not to offer up his life to secure the desirable nomenclature of the land he had discovered—but returning in safety to the broad and level plains of his own Holland, he left his name inscribed on a promontory, where it will endure as long as the hum of the musquitoe shall sooth the sleepless nights of the votary of fashion, or the victim of disease seek health or pleasure in the blue waves of father ocean—*æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit*. To the countrymen of Kornelis Jacobus Méy, succeeded those of captain Dugald Dalgetty's friend "Gustavus Adolphus, the lion of the north, and the bulwark of the protestant faith." If the sober and modest Dutchmen had been wanting in regard to the length and variety of the names they assigned to places and things, the deficiency was amply compensated by the fertile language, or the not less fertile imagination, of the Swedes. Who can learn, without regret, the sacrilege of posterity, in barbarously curtailing or changing the sounding appellations given by those primitive godfathers of the land? Is it credible, that we can now call by the brief and inexpressive name of Tinicum, an island once known by that of "Tutæ æ nung Tencho and Tenna kong?" Can we learn, without emotion, that where Philadelphia now stands, were places designated by such names as Techoherassi, Nya-Wasa, Meulendael, and Lapananel—of which no trace now remains, save in the pages which thus preserve them, we trust, to be revived when the rage for *villes* and *towns* shall have sunk into a more just oblivion. We need hardly remind our readers, that, notwithstanding their long names, the Swedes were soon obliged to yield to the superior valour of those whose rights they usurped—and that the Dutch, led on by the renowned Peter the headstrong, defeated them in those celebrated battles which have been described by the great historian of New-Amsterdam—the renowned Knickerbocker. Alas! however, neither valour, nor long names, nor cocked hats, nor innumerable pairs of breeches, could save these fair regions from the spells of one of those evil spirits generated in the brains of lawyers, and unfortunately known to many of us—a deed of trust. Beneath this, as we learn from our author, faded away all the wisdom of the Swedes, and the glories of the Dutch. To use his own expressive language,—

"In 1675, the west part of Jersey was sold out to one Edward Byllinge, a Friend, to whom William Penn, the founder, soon afterwards became a trustee. This seemingly unimportant and incidental connexion became the *primum mobile* or fulcrum to a lever, whose force may continue to operate on our destinies as long as Pennsylvania shall endure! Penn, in his efforts to settle the estate of Byllinge, became so well acquainted with the region of Pennsylvania and colo-

nial settlements, as to be afterwards induced to purchase that for himself, by receiving it as an equivalent for claims due to his father, admiral Penn."

Certainly, the great founder of our state does not seem to have possessed the violent propensities of his predecessors in regard to names, for it was with some difficulty that it got any at all. The fine appellations of Indians, Dutch, and Swedes, do not appear to have been thought of for a moment; and had it not been for king Charles himself, it is by no means improbable that we might still have been obliged to call on the legislature at Harrisburg (the same having been first instructed thereon by a legislative caucus), to christen the country which they rule so well.

"I chose," says William Penn, in a private letter to Robert Turner, "New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country; but Penn, being Welsh for a head,—as Penmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England,—they called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands, for I proposed (when the Secretary, a Welchman, refused to have it called New Wales,) Sylvania, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out and altered, he said, 'twas past, and would take it upon him; nor would twenty guineas move the under secretaries to vary the name,—for I feared least it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to my father, whom he often mentions with praise."

In regard to the name of the good city of Philadelphia, we cannot do better than give the pertinent remarks of our author himself, fully participating with him in all his philanthropic and fraternal sentiments.

"The very name of Philadelphia is impressive, as importing in its original Greek sense—*brotherly love*: thus giving to the original place the peculiarly characteristic trait of unity of interests and purposes, i. e. the '*City of brotherly love*.' Long may its society constitute a brotherhood never to be broken,—clinging together in mutual interests and combined efforts for the general and enduring good! If it had in its origin that love among its members, which so distinguished the fraternal regard of Attalus and Eumenes, as to give the name of Philadelphia to the place honoured by their mutual attachment,—so may it also be blessed with the ancient church of its name, in ever having its civil and religious privileges inscribed in divine sanctions as free as hers, to wit: 'I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it!'"

After naming a new province, and the capital city thereof, the next things naturally are to build a prison and to make laws. Accordingly, we learn, that on the sixteenth of the eleventh month, 1682, William Clayton, one of the provincial council, was directed to build a cage against the next council day, of seven feet long by five feet broad:—why it was wanted "by the next council day," does not appear from any thing mentioned by our author, though certainly the very particular designation of the time would seem to indicate a mysterious cause, well worthy of his future inquiries. It is also to be noted, from the size and character of the edifice, that no attention whatever seems to have been paid to the separate confinement, and proper classification

of the prisoners, circumstances which it is well known are at the present day absolutely necessary. What in the world, too, they did in a building seven feet by five, for rooms to be washed in, to go to church in, and to read tracts in, we are utterly at a loss to conceive. Indeed, this primitive penitentiary did not long suit our philanthropic forefathers, for in three years we find that "they hired half of Patrick Robinson's house," which made so admirable a place of security and reform, that the high sheriff declared in court, "that if any escapes occurred, he would not blame the county for want of a jail, nor for the insufficiency of said house"—its security indeed may be well believed, for our author informs us that "it was made of four inch poplar plank, dovetailed at the corners;" and doubtless reflecting on the thick stone walls which compose our present prisons, he aptly quotes "the saying of old Isaac Parrish to Judge M'Kean—times are changed indeed—formerly wood was sufficient for confinement; but now stone itself is no match for the rogues!" Ah! what would old Isaac Parrish have said, had he lived to see the turrets, the battlements, the arched corridors, the iron bedsteads, the feeding holes, the whispering galleries, and the watch-towers now destined to save the eastern district of Pennsylvania from a pickpocket or a highwayman?

The laws of our worthy forefathers bore the same proportion to those of our own times that their jails did. The first assembly, which met at Upland, sat three days, and passed *one law!* consisting of sixty-one subjects; and these subjects, how different from those which now puzzle the brains of statesmen!—one was "against the drinking of healths," another, "against spreaders of false news," and another, "against clamorous persons, scolders, and railers!"—and that the wise lessons they proclaimed and enforced might be instilled deeply in the minds of the people, these excellent laws were to be made up in the form of school-books, or of such tracts as those by which the "A. S. S. Union" now enlightens mankind, and read as occasional lessons in schools. Wisely does our author ask—"Ah! what would our boys think of our modern statute books, if read in lieu of *Æsop's Fables!*"

The "facts and occurrences of the primitive settlement," mentioned by our author, are in full accordance with the simplicity of the times, as shown in the size of the jail, and the number and nature of the laws. A praiseworthy diligence in their collection and preservation has been displayed, and the careful manner in which the genealogy of many of the traditions is assured, guarantees the faith which it is so delightful to repose in them. Thus we have at length the history of "a silver tureen of Mrs. Deborah Morris, which was once a sugar box, supplied with the addition of handles," as it was told by "Mrs. Nancar-

ro, who had herself taken soup out of that tureen." This history we should like to insert as an American counterpart to that of the celebrated Trojan sceptre, whose descent among the gods and heroes of Homeric times, forms so interesting an episode in the Iliad. It is, however, somewhat too long, and we shall merely add our grief to the author's, at the sacrilege which has been committed on so venerable a relic of the days of William Penn.

"This silver tureen," he informs us, "deservedly so interesting for its association of good thoughts, descended through her nephew, Samuel Morris, and thence to his son, Benjamin W. Morris, who, having moved away from Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia feelings it is presumed, so far lost sight of the words of the will, (which said, 'I hope and desire to keep them in the family,') that he has had it melted down to convert into some other vessels of more modern aspect! Should page of mine ever meet his eye, I could at least wish him to feel some portion of my regrets!"

Nor were the times of our ancestors wanting in deeds of romance, even among the staid followers of the proprietary himself. While Chesnut street was yet a forest, and Water street and Dock square were the scenes of incipient fashion—while belles, unversed in the mysteries of French bonnets and sleeves, deemed themselves sufficiently gay in the less brilliant, but perhaps not less elaborate costume of the Quaker sect—we learn from our author that Jersey was a Gretna Green, whither gallant swains and yielding damsels fled to more auspicious temples of Hymen. We have the history of an elopement a hundred and twenty years ago, which afforded an abundant topic for the gossip of our ancestors when they assembled at their fashionable tea-parties at five o'clock in the afternoon.

"Colonel Coxe, the grandfather of the late Tench Coxe, Esq. made an elopement in his youth with an heiress, Sarah Eckley, a Friend. What was singular in their case, was, that they were married in the woods in Jersey by fire light, by the chaplain of lord Cornbury, the then governor of New-Jersey. The meeting of the chaplain there seemed to have been accidental. The fact gave some scandal to the serious friends of her family. A letter of Margaret Preston, of 1707, which I have seen, thus describes her umbrage at the fact, saying: 'The news of Sarah Eckley's marriage is both sorrowful and surprising, with one colonel Coxe, a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money. His sister Trent was supposed to have promoted the match. Her other friends were ignorant of the match. It took place in the absence of her uncle and aunt Hill, between two and three in the morning, on the Jersey side, under a tree by fire light. They have since proselyted her.'"

The intercourse with the natives was at that early period on the most familiar footing, and nothing more beautifully or clearly displays the success of William Penn's benevolent policy, than the harmony which subsisted between the Indians and settlers; not harmony alone, indeed, but that constant domestic and social communication which indicated an entire absence of fear or sense of danger on the one part, and that full and undoubting faith, that reliance on benevolent expressions, that sense of justice in all transactions, which certainly are not exhibited in the

history of these relations among the other colonies, nor were in this at a remoter period—even when an observance of the strict and absolute rights of the savages, as guarantied by the laws, was supposed and intended. We find in this volume, a scene taken from the narrative of Mrs. Preston, an aged lady, at whose wedding the proprietary himself, and many Indians, were present.

“ William Penn, she used to say, was very sociable, and freely gave the Indians friendly advice. She described him as of short stature, but the handsomest, best looking, lively gentleman, she had ever seen. There was nothing like pride about him, but affable and friendly with the humblest in life.

“ After their marriage they went to Wiccaco; her husband there made up frocks, trowsers and moccasins of deer skins, for the Swedes, &c. there; after a time, the little settlement was burnt out, by being surrounded by fire in the woods. They went then, on the invitation of friendly Indians, to Hollekonck, in Buckingham. Both her and her husband, Amos Preston, spoke Indian readily. She even served as interpreter at an Indian treaty at Hollekonck.

“ She said, at the news of Penn's arrival in the province, she had gone down from Neshamny creek (where she then lived) with others to get to see him; the Indians and Swedes also went along. They met with him at or near the present Philadelphia. The Indians, as well as the whites, had severally prepared the best entertainment the place and circumstances could admit. William Penn made himself endeared to the Indians by his marked condescension and acquiescence in their wishes. He walked with them, sat with them on the ground, and ate with them of their roasted acorns and homony. At this they expressed their great delight, and soon began to show how they could hop and jump; at which exhibition William Penn, to cap the climax, sprang up and beat them all! We are not prepared to credit such light gaiety in a sage governor and religious chief; but we have the positive assertion of a woman of truth, who said she saw it. There may have been very wise policy in the measure as an act of conciliation, worth more than a regiment of sharp-shooters. He was then sufficiently young for any agility; and we remember that one of the old journalists among the Friends speaks of him as having naturally an excess of levity of spirit for a grave minister. We give the fact, however, as we got it. It is by gathering up such facts of difficult belief, that we sometimes preserve the only means of unravelling at some later day, a still greater mystery. Sometimes an old song or legendary tale confirms the whole. ‘ A peasant's song prolongs the dubious tale!’ ”

We may remark, that our author seems so well pleased with this story of the agility of William Penn, that he has recorded it twice at full length—a circumstance by no means limited to this one incident; for we find him, on several occasions, repeating facts, which, though doubtless worth the labour of collecting once, can scarcely be deemed of sufficient importance to be fixed in our recollections by reiterated perusal. A little attention on this point, might have somewhat diminished the seven hundred and forty pages which lie before us.

The residence of William Penn, is, of course, a subject of too much interest to be omitted, and in addition to one or two regular dissertations on the matter, it is introduced incidentally on various occasions. Those acquainted with the good city of Philadelphia, must doubtless have seen the low two story house of Mr. Doyle in Lætitia court, where (*proh pudor!*) the likeness of William Penn figures as the sign of a tavern, and points

out to the inquisitive, the abode of the patriarch in the primitive times. We think, however, that our author has effectually demolished all title (notwithstanding the sign) which that venerable mansion might have to the honour of being the dwelling of the proprietary. After the perusal of the chapter especially devoted to the subject, we must give our vote, with our author, in favour of the building next door. The feelings which that venerable edifice is calculated to excite in the breast of an admirer of antiquity, are best expressed in his words;—we should attempt in vain to rival them.

“It may possibly be deemed over-fanciful in me to express a wish to have this primitive house purchased by our Penn Association, and consecrated to future renown. I hope indeed the idea will yet generate in the breasts of some of my fellow members the real poetry of the subject. It is all intellectual; and has had its warrant (if required) in numerous precedents abroad. We may now see written upon Melancthon’s house in Wirtzburg. ‘Here lived and died Melancthon!’ In the same city are still preserved ‘Luther’s room,’ his chair, table, and stove; and at Eisleben is seen a small house, bought and preserved by the king of Prussia, inscribed, ‘This is the house in which Luther was born.’ Petrarch’s house is not suffered to be altered. Such things, in every country, every intelligent traveller seeks out with avidity. Why, therefore, should we not retain for public exhibition the primitive house of Penn? Yea, whose foundation constituted ‘the first cellar dug in Philadelphia!’ To proper minds, the going into the alley and narrow court to find the hallowed spot (now so humble) should constitute its chiefest interest. It would be the actual contrast between the beginning and the progress of our city.

“Its exterior walls I would preserve with inviolate faithfulness; and within those walls (wherein space is ample, if partitions were removed) might be an appropriate and highly characteristic place of meeting for the ordinary business of the Penn Association and the Historical Society, and also for the exhibition of such paintings and relics as could now be obtained,—such as Penn’s clock, his escrutoir, writing table, &c. besides several articles to be had of some families, of curiously constructed furniture of the primitive days. The hint is thus given—will any now support the idea?”

In a similar strain of feeling, originality, and eloquence, we find him indulging, two pages after, when he comes to speak of “the slate-roof house,” where the founder resided during his second visit to Philadelphia.

“To that house, therefore, humble, degenerated, and altered in aspect as it now is, we are to appropriate all our conceptions of Penn’s employments, meditations, hopes, fears, &c. while acting as governor and proprietary among us. In those doors he went in and out—up and down those stairs he passed—in those chambers he reposed—in those parlours he dined or regaled his friends—through those garden grounds they sauntered. His wife, his daughter Lætitia, his family, and his servants, were there. In short, to those who can think and feel, the place ‘is filled with local impressions.’ Such a house should be rescued from its present forlorn neglect; it ought to be bought and consecrated to some lasting memorial of its former character, by restoring its bastions and salient angles, &c. It would be to the character of such societies as the Historical and Penn Association, &c. to club their means to preserve it for their chambers, &c. as long as themselves and the city may endure! There is a moral influence in these measures that implies and effects much more in its influence on national action and feeling, than can reach the apprehension of superficial thinkers; who can only estimate its value by their conception of so much brick and mortar! It was

feelings, such as I wish to see appreciated here, that aroused the ardour of Petrarch's townsmen, jealous of every thing consecrated by his name, whereby they run together *en masse*, to prevent the proprietor of his house from altering it! Foreigners, we know, have honoured England by their eagerness to go to Bread street, and there visit the house and chambers, once Milton's! 'Tis in vain to deride the passion as futile; the charm is in the ideal presence, which the association has power to create in the imagination; and they who can command the grateful visions will be sure to indulge them. It is poetry of feeling—scoffs cannot repress it. It equally possessed the mind of Tully when he visited Athens; he could not forbear to visit the walks and houses which the old philosophers had frequented or inhabited. In this matter, says Dr. Johnson, 'I am afraid to declare against the general voice of mankind.' 'The heart is stone that feels not at it; or, it feels at none!' Sheer insensibility, absorbed in its own selfishness, alone escapes the spell-like influence!"

In the chapter on "the habits and state of society," many incidents are collected, which, with our author's remarks on them, afford amusing specimens of primitive manners and contemporary criticism. We shall select a few paragraphs from this chapter.

"Women's wages were peculiarly high, for two reasons; the sex was not numerous, which tended to make them in demand, and therefore to raise the price. Besides, as these married by the time they were twenty years of age, they sought to procure a maid servant for themselves in turn. Old maids were not to be met with, neither jealousy of husbands. The children were generally well favoured and beautiful to behold. He says he never knew any with the least blemish. William Penn also made the remark, on his arrival, that all the houses of the Dutch and Swedes he found every where filled with a lusty and fine looking race of children."

"Moral as the people generally were, and well disposed to cherish a proper regard for religious principles, it became a matter of easy attainment to the celebrated Whitefield and his coadjutors, Tennant, Davenport, &c., to gain a great ascendancy over the minds of many of the people. The excitements wrought among them was very considerable. He procured in Philadelphia to be built for him one of the largest churches then in the colonies, and his helper, Tennant, another. It is manifest enough now that the ardour of success generated considerable of fanaticism and its consequent reproach. Whitefield, in 1739, preached to a crowd of 15,000 persons on Society Hill. About the same time he so far succeeded to repress the usual public amusements as that the dancing school was discontinued, and the ball and concert room were shut up, as inconsistent with the requisitions of the gospel. No less than fourteen sermons were preached on Society Hill in open air, in one week, during the session of the Presbyterian church; and the Gazette of the day, in noticing the fact, says, 'The change to religion here is altogether surprising through the influence of Whitefield—no books sell but religious, and such is the general conversation.'"

"The old people all testify that the young of their youth were much more reserved, and held under much more restraint in the presence of their elders and parents than now. Bashfulness and modesty in the young were then regarded as virtues; and the present freedom before the aged was not then countenanced. Young lovers then listened and took side-long glances when before their parents or elders.

"Mrs. Susan N—, who lived to be eighty years of age, told me it was the custom of her early days for the young part of the family, and especially of the female part, to dress up neatly towards the close of the day and set in the street-porch. It was customary to go from porch to porch in neighbourhoods and sit and converse. Young gentlemen in passing used to affect to say that while they admired the charms of the fair who thus occupied them, they found it a severe ordeal, as they thought they might become the subject of remark. This, how-

ever, was a mere banter. Those days were really very agreeable and sociable. To be so easily gratified with a sight of the whole city population, must have been peculiarly grateful to every travelling stranger. In truth, we have never seen a citizen who remembered the former easy exhibition of families, who did not regret its present exclusive and reserved substitute."

"The tradesmen before the Revolution (I mention these facts with all good feeling,) were an entirely different generation of men from the present. They did not then, as now, present the appearance in dress of gentlemen. Between them and what were deemed the hereditary gentlemen there was a marked difference. In truth, the aristocracy of the gentlemen was noticed if not felt, and it was to check any undue assumption of ascendancy in them, that the others invented the rallying name of 'the Leather Apron Club,'—a name with which they were familiar before Franklin's 'junta' was formed and received that other name. In that day the tradesmen and their families had far less pride than now. While at their work, or in going abroad on week-days, all such as followed rough trades, such as carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, &c., universally wore a leathern apron before them, and covering all their vest. Dingy buckskin breeches, once yellow, and check shirts and a red flannel jacket was the common wear of most working men; and all men and boys from the country were seen in the streets in leather breeches and aprons, and would have been deemed out of character without them. In those days, tailors, shoemakers, and hatters, waited on customers to take their measures, and afterwards called with garments to fit them on before finished."

"In the olden time domestic comfort was not every day interrupted by the pride and the profligacy of servants. There were then but few hired,—black slaves, and German and Irish redemptioners made up the mass. Personal liberty is unquestionably the inherent right of every human creature; but the slaves of Philadelphia were a happier class of people than the free blacks now, who exhibit every sort of wretchedness and profligacy in their dwellings. The former felt themselves to be an integral part of the family to which they belonged; they were faithful and contented, and affected no equality in dress or manners with those who ruled them; every kindness was extended to them in return."

"It was usual in the gazettes of 1760 to '70 to announce marriages in words like these, to wit: 'Miss Betsey Laurence, or Miss Eliza Caton, a most agreeable lady, with a large or a handsome fortune!'"

"The wedding entertainments of olden times were very expensive and harassing to the wedded. The house of the parent would be filled with company to dine; the same company would stay to tea and to supper. For two days punch was dealt out in profusion. The gentlemen saw the groom on the first floor, and then ascended to the second floor, where they saw the bride; there every gentleman, even to one hundred in a day, kissed her! Even the plain Friends submitted to these things. I have known rich families which had one hundred and twenty persons to dine—the same who had signed their certificate of marriage at the monthly meeting; these also partook of tea and supper. As they formally passed the meeting twice, the same entertainment was repeated. Two days the male friends would call and take punch; and all would kiss the bride. Besides this, the married pair for two entire weeks saw large tea parties at their home, having in attendance every night the groomsman and bridesmaids. To avoid expense and trouble, Friends have since made it sufficient to pass but one meeting. When these marriage entertainments were made, it was expected also that punch, cakes, and meats, should be sent out very generally in the neighbourhood, even to those who were not visitors in the family!"

"It may surprise some of the present generation to learn that some of those aged persons who they may now meet, have teeth which were originally in the heads of others! I have seen a printed advertisement of the year 1784, wherein Doctor Le Mayeur, dentist, proposes to the citizens of Philadelphia to transplant teeth; stating therein, that he has successfully transplanted one hundred and twenty-three teeth in the preceding six months! At the same time he offers two guineas for every tooth which may be offered to him by 'persons disposed to sell their front teeth or any of them!' This was quite a novelty in Philadel-

phia; the present care of the teeth was ill understood then. He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a good deal of our patricians' money. Several respectable ladies had them implanted. I remember some curious anecdotes of some cases. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could eat with them. One lady, now alive, told me she knew of sixteen cases of such persons among her acquaintance.

"Doctor Baker, who preceded Le Mayeur, was the first person ever known as a dentist in Philadelphia. Tooth-brushes were not even known, and the genteelst then were content to rub the teeth with a chalked rag or with snuff. Some even deemed it an effeminacy in men to be seen cleaning the teeth at all."

The chapter on "apparel," only proves that there is no place too remote, no state of society too simple, for the outrageous extravagancies of dress and fashion to prevail. If we are inclined to laugh at the singular costumes of our forefathers, we must not flatter ourselves, that in times to come, our children will view with less wonder and derision, the enormous appendages which we affix to the head, arms, and figures of human beings, in this boastful age of improvement and taste.

"Mr. B——, a gentleman of eighty years of age, has given me his recollections of the costumes of his early days in Philadelphia, to this effect, to wit: Men wore three-square or cocked hats, and wigs, coats with large cuffs, big skirts, lined and stiffened with buckram. None ever saw a crown higher than the head. The coat of a beau had three or four large plaits in the skirts, wadding almost like a coverlet to keep them smooth, cuffs very large, up to the elbows, open below and inclined down, with lead therein; the capes were thin and low, so as readily to expose the close plaited neck-stock of fine linen cambric, and the large silver stock-buckle on the back of the neck, shirts with hand ruffles, sleeves finely plaited, breeches close fitted, with silver, stone, or paste gem buckles, shoes or pumps with silver buckles of various sizes and patterns, thread, worsted, and silk stockings; the poorer class wore sheep and buckskin breeches close set to the limbs. Gold and silver sleeve buttons, set with stones or paste, of various colours and kinds, adorned the wrists of the shirts of all classes. The very boys often wore wigs, and their dresses in general were similar to that of the men."

"The women wore caps, (a bare head was never seen!) stiff stays, hoops from six inches to two feet on each side, so that a full dressed lady entered a door like a crab, pointing her obtruding flanks end foremost, high heeled shoes of black stuff with white cotton or thread stockings; and in the miry times of winter they wore clogs, gala-shoes, or pattens."

"In the time of the American war, many of the American officers introduced the use of Dutch blankets for great coats. The sailors in the olden time used to wear hats of glazed leather or of woollen thrumbs, called chapeaus, closely woven and looking like a rough knap; and their 'small clothes,' as we would say now, were immense wide petticoat-breeches, wide open at the knees, and no longer. About seventy years ago our working men in the country wore the same, having no falling flaps but slits in front; they were so full and free in girth, that they ordinarily changed the rear to the front when the seat became prematurely worn out. In sailors and common people, big silver broaches in the bosom were displayed, and long quartered shoes with extreme big buckles on the extreme front.

"Gentlemen in the olden time used to carry mufftees in winter. It was in effect a little woollen muff of various colours, just big enough to admit both hands, and long enough to screen the wrists, which were then more exposed than now; for they then wore short sleeves to their coats purposely to display their fine linen and plaited shirt sleeves, with their gold buttons and sometimes

laced ruffles. The sleeve cuffs were very wide, and hung down depressed with leads in them.

"In the summer season, men very often wore calico morning-gowns at all times of the day and abroad in the streets. A damask banyan was much the same thing by another name. Poor labouring men wore ticklenberg linen for shirts, and striped ticken breeches; they wore gray duroy-coats in winter; men and boys always wore leather breeches. Leather aprons were used by all tradesmen and workmen.

"Some of the peculiarities of the female dress was to the following effect, to wit: Ancient ladies are still alive who have told me that they often had their hair tortured for four hours at a sitting in getting the proper crisped curls of a hair curler. Some who designed to be inimitably captivating, not knowing they could be sure of professional services where so many hours were occupied upon one gay head, have actually had the operation performed the day before it was required, then have slept all night in a sitting posture to prevent the derangement of their frizle and curls! This is a real fact, and we could, if questioned, name cases. They were, of course, rare occurrences, proceeding from some extra occasions, when there were several to serve, and but few such refined hair dressers in the place.

"This formidable head-work was succeeded by rollers over which the hair was combed above the forehead. These again were superseded by cushions and artificial curled work, which could be sent out to the barber's block, like a wig, to be dressed, leaving the lady at home to pursue other objects—thus producing a grand reformation in the economy of time, and an exemption too from former durance vile."

"When the ladies first began to lay off their cumbrous hoops, they supplied their place with successive succedaneums, such as these, to wit: First came bishops—a thing stuffed or padded with horse hair; then succeeded a smaller affair under the name of *cue de Paris*, also padded with horse hair! How it abates our admiration to contemplate the lovely sex as bearing a roll of horse hair under their garments! Next they supplied their place with silk or calimanco, or russell thickly quilted and inlaid with wool, made into petticoats; then these were supplanted by a substitute of half a dozen of petticoats. No wonder such ladies needed fans in a sultry summer, and at a time when parasols were unknown, to keep off the solar rays! I knew a lady going to a gala party who had so large a hoop that when she sat in the chaise she so filled it up, that the person who drove it (it had no top) stood up behind the box and directed the reins!"

"Among some other articles of female wear we may name the following, to wit: Once they wore a 'skimmer hat,' made of a fabric which shone like silver tinsel; it was of a very small flat crown and big brim, not unlike the present Leghorn flats. Another hat, not unlike it in shape, was made of woven horse hair, wove in flowers, and called 'horse-hair bonnets,'—an article which might be again usefully introduced for children's wear as an enduring hat for long service. I have seen what was called a bath-bonnet, made of black satin, and so constructed to lay in folds that it could be set upon like a chapeau bras,—a good article now for travelling ladies! 'The mush-mellon' bonnet, used before the revolution, had numerous whale-bone stiffeners in the crown, set at an inch apart in parallel lines and presenting ridges to the eye, between the bones. The next bonnet was the 'whale-bone bonnet,' having only the bones in the front as stiffeners. 'A calash bonnet' was always formed of green silk; it was worn abroad, covering the head, but when in rooms it could fall back in folds like the springs of a calash or gig top; to keep it up over the head it was drawn up by a cord always held in the hand of the wearer. The 'wagon bonnet,' always of black silk, was an article exclusively in use among the Friends, was deemed to look, on the head, not unlike the top of the Jersey wagons, and having a pendient piece of like silk hanging from the bonnet and covering the shoulders. The only straw wear was that called the 'straw beehive bonnet,' worn generally by old people."

"In the former days it was not uncommon to see aged persons with large sil-

ver buttons to their coats and vests—it was a mark of wealth. Some had the initials of their names engraved on each button. Sometimes they were made out of real quarter dollars, with the coinage impression still retained,—these were used for the coats, and the eleven-penny-bits for vests and breeches. My father wore an entire suit decorated with conch-shell buttons, silver mounted.”

“In 1730, I see a public advertisement to this effect in the Gazette, to wit: ‘A good price will be given for good clean white horse-hair, by William Cross-thwaite, peruke maker.’ Thus showing of what materials our forefathers got their white wigs!

“In 1737, the perukes of the day as then sold, were thus described, to wit: ‘Tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, fox-tails, and twists, together with curls or tates (têtes) for the ladies.’

“In the year 1765, another peruke maker advertises prepared hair for judges’ full bottomed wigs, tyes for gentlemen of the bar to wear over their hair, brigadiers, dress bobs, bags, cues, scratches, cut wigs, &c. and to accommodate ladies he has tates (têtes), towers, &c. At same time a stay maker advertises cork stays, whale-bone stays, jumps, and easy caushets, thin boned misses’ and ladies’ stays, and pack thread stays!

“Some of the advertisements of the olden time present some curious descriptions of masquerade attire, such as these, viz.

“Year 1722—Ran away from the Rev. D. Magill, a servant clothed with damask breeches and vest, black broad-cloth vest, a broad-cloth coat, of copper colour, lined and trimmed with black, and wearing black stockings! Another servant is described as wearing leather breeches and glass buttons, black stockings, and a wig!

“In 1724, a run-away barber is thus dressed, viz.—wore a light wig, a gray kersey jacket lined with blue, a light pair of drugget breeches, black roll-up stockings, square toed shoes, a red leathern apron. He had also a white vest and yellow buttons, with red linings!”

“From one advertisement of the year 1745, I take the following now unintelligible articles of dress—all of them presented for sale too, even for the ladies, on Fishbourne’s wharf, ‘back of Mrs. Fishbourne’s dwelling,’ to wit: ‘Tandems, isinghams, nuns, bag and gulix, (these all mean shirting) huckabacks, (a figured worsted for women’s gowns) quilted humhums, turkettees, grassetts, single allopeens, children’s stays, jumps, and bodice, whalebone and iron busks, men’s new market caps, silk and worsted wove patterns for breeches, allibanies, dickmansoy, cushloes, chuckloes, cuttanees, crimson dannador, chain’d soosees, lemonees, byrampauts, moree, naffermamy, saxlingham, prunelloe, barragons, druggets, floretas, &c. &c.’”

The locomotive propensities of our ancestors, were probably not so violent as our own, for we learn from our author that in the year 1765, the coach from Philadelphia to New-York went but twice a week, and, what must be more extraordinary to those possessed of the modern ardour for rapidity, they consumed *three days* on the journey. The spirit, however, once imparted, soon grew, for in the following year we find vehicles established, bearing the alluring title of “the flying machines,” which were warranted to accomplish the vast distance between the two cities in two days. “Diligence, quoth I”—as our friend Monkbarns exclaims in the novel; “thou shouldst have called it the Sloth—Fly! quoth she—why it moves like a fly through a glue-pot, as the Irishman says.”

Our author, though doubtless a staid and meditative gentleman, does not seem to prefer the decent and laborious slowness of these primitive vehicles; but in most respects, he certainly looks

upon the revolutions of the times with no propitious or favourable eye. Like the fair Briseis when dragged from the tent of Achilles, "he oft looks back" on the happier days when more social manners, and a more honest and simple spirit, were seen in the customs of life and the pursuits of trade. Thus he tells us—

"Philadelphia, until the last twenty-five or thirty years, had a porch to every house door, where it was universally common for the inhabitants to take their occasional sitting, beneath their pent-houses, then general. Such an easy access to the residents as they afforded, made the families much more social than now, and gave also a ready chance to strangers to see the faces of our pretty ladies. The lively spectacle was very grateful. It gave a kindly domestic scene, that is since utterly effaced from our manners. When porches were thus in vogue, they were seen here and there occupied by boys, who there vied in telling strange incredible stories, and in singing ballads. Fine voices were occasionally heard singing them as you passed in the streets. Ballads were in constant requisition. I knew a tradesman of my age, who told me it was his pride to say he could sing a song for every day in the year, and all committed to memory."

"When I was a boy, there was no such thing as conducting business in the present wholesale manner, and by efforts at monopoly. No masters were seen exempted from personal labour in any branch of business, living on the profits derived from many hired journeymen; and no places were sought out at much expense and display of signs and decorated windows to allure custom. Thus every shoemaker or tailor was a man for himself; thus was every tinman, blacksmith, hatter, wheelwright, weaver, barber, bookbinder, umbrella-maker, copersmith and brass founder, painter and glazier, cedar-cooper, plasterer, cabinet and chair-maker, chaise-maker, &c. In those days, if they did not aspire to much, they were more sure of the end—a decent competency in old age, and a tranquil and certain livelihood while engaged in the acquisition of its reward. At that time, ruinous overstocks of goods imported were utterly unknown, and supplies from auction sales, as now, were neither depended upon nor resorted to. The same advance 'on the sterling' was the set price of every storekeeper's profit. As none got suddenly rich by monopolies, they went through whole lives, gradually but surely augmenting their estates, without the least fear of the misfortune of bankruptcy. When it did rarely occur, such was the surprise and the general sympathy of the public, that citizens saluted each other with sad faces, and made their regrets and condolence a measure of common concern. An aged person has told me, that when the inhabitant and proprietor of that large house, formerly the post-office, at the corner of Chesnut street and Carpenter's court, suddenly failed in business, the whole house was closely shut up for one week, as an emblem of the deepest family-mourning; and all who passed the house instinctively stopt and mingled the expressions of their lively regret. Now how changed are matters in these particulars! Now men fail with hardy indifference, and some of them have often the effrontery to appear abroad in expensive display, elbowing aside their suffering creditors at public places of expensive resort. I occasionally meet with such, by whom I have been injured, who indulge in travelling equipage, with which they delight to pass and dust me, and who, nevertheless, would feel their dignity much insulted at even a civil hint to spare me but a little of the disregarded debt. It might lower the arrogance of some such, to know, there was once a time in our colony when such heedless and desperate dealers and livers were sold for a term of years to pay their just debts."

However shrewd our ancestors may have been in regard to the affairs of this world, it seems they were not without some notions rather heterodox as to those of the next—nor were they without a few venerable legends and veritable superstitions, of

which we are sadly wanting in these practical times. Our author does not indulge in the same personal remarks on the conduct of the supernatural beings, that he makes when speaking of the human creatures who so unceremoniously elbowed him in his walks, nor does he assert a direct knowledge from actual observation, of any of the wonderful facts of this nature which he has recorded. His modes of expression, however, coupled as they are with sundry notes of admiration, are calculated to impress on the reader an awe, from which, perhaps, he was not himself exempt, when he penned these mysterious incidents of a by-gone age.

"Timothy Matlack declared to me, it was a fact before his time, that a young man, a stranger of decent appearance from the south, (the rogues lived there in the ancient days, in the transport colonies of Maryland and Virginia,) gave out he was sold to the devil! and that unless the price was raised for his redemption by the pious, he would be borne off at mid-day by the purchaser in person! He took his lodgings at the inn in Lætitia court, and at the eventful day he was surrounded, and the house too, by the people, among whom were several clergymen. Prayers and pious services of worship were performed, and as the moment approached for execution, when all were on tiptoe, some expecting the verification, and several discrediting it, a murmur ran through the crowd of 'there he comes! he comes!' This instantly generated a terrible panic—all fled, from fear, or from the rush of the crowd. When their fears a little subsided, and a calmer inquisition ensued, sure enough, the young man was actually gone, money and all! I should have stated that the money was collected to pay the price; and it lay upon the table in the event of the demand!"

"Michael H——, Esq., well known in public life, who lived in Second street above Arch street, gave out (in a mental delirium it is hoped) that he had sold himself to the devil, and would be carried away at a certain time. At that time crowds actually assembled near the premises to witness the denouement and catastrophe! There must have been truth in this relation, because I now see by the Gazette of 1749, a public notice of this public gathering as an offensive act to the family—I see that M. H. is vindicated from some malicious reports, which said he was distracted, &c., and witnesses appear before Judge Allen and testify that he was then sane, &c. It was certainly on every side a strange affair!"

"Something like this subject occurred when I was a child. I remember very well to have been taken to a house on the south side of Race street, a few doors east of Second street, where was a black man who was stated to have sold himself to the devil, and to have come from Delaware or Maryland peninsula, by the aid of the pious in Philadelphia, to procure his ransom or exemption. I can never forget his piteous and dejected countenance, as I saw him, in the midst of praying people, working fervently at his exorcism in an up-stairs chamber. I heard him say he had signed an instrument of writing with his own blood."

"I have seen aged people who well remembered the town-talk of the people about seeing a black coach drove about at midnight by an evil spirit, having therein one of our deceased rich citizens, who was deemed to have died with unkind feelings to one dependant upon him. I suppress names and circumstances; but there were people enough who were quite persuaded that they saw it! This was before the Revolution.

"The good people of Caledonia have so long and exclusively engrossed the faculty of 'second sight,' that it may justly surprise many to learn that we also have been favoured with at least one case as well attested as their own! I refer to the instance of Eli Yarnall of Frankford. Whatever were his first peculiarities, he in time lost them. He fell into intemperate habits, became a wanderer, and died in Virginia, a young man. He was born in Bucks county, and with his family emigrated to the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh. There, when a child of seven years of age, he suddenly burst into a fit of laughter in the house, saying

he then saw his father, (then at a distance) running down the mountain side trying to catch a jug of whiskey which he had let fall. He saw him overtake it, &c. When the father came in, he confirmed the whole story, to the great surprise of all. The boy after this excited much wonder and talk in the neighbourhood. Two or three years after this, the family was visited by Robert Verreé, a public Friend, with other visiting Friends from Bucks county. I have heard, in a very direct manner, from those who heard Verreé's narrative, that he, to try the lad, asked him various questions about circumstances then occurring at his own house in Bucks county; all of which he afterwards ascertained to have been really so at that precise time! Some of the things mentioned were these, viz: 'I see your house is made partly of log and partly of stone; before the house is a pond which is now let out; in the porch sits a woman, and a man with gray hairs; in the house are several men,' &c. When Verreé returned home he ascertained that his mill-pond before his house had just been let out to catch muskrats; that the man in the porch was his wife's brother Jonathan; that the men in the house were his mowers, who had all come in because of a shower of rain. In short, he said every iota was exactly realized.

"The habits of the boy, when he sought for such facts, was to sit down and hold his head downward—his eyes often shut; and after some waiting, declared what he saw in his visions. He has been found abroad in the fields, sitting on a stump, crying—on being asked the reasons, he said he saw great destruction of human life by men in mutual combat. His descriptions answered exactly to sea-fights and army battles, although he had never seen the sea, nor ships, nor cannon; all of which he fully described as an actual looker-on. Some of the Friends who saw him, became anxious for his future welfare, and deeming him possessed of a peculiar gift and a good spirit, desired to have the bringing of him up. He was therefore committed to the mastery of Nathan Harper, a Friend, engaged in the business of tanning in Frankford. There he excited considerable conversation; and so many began to visit him as to be troublesome to his master, who did what he could to discourage the calls. Questions on his part were therefore shunned as much as he could. He lost his faculty by degrees, and fell into loose company, which of itself prevented serious people from having any further wish to interrogate him.

"To instance the kind of inquiries which were usually presented to him, it may be stated, that wives who had missed their husbands long, supposed by shipwreck for instance, would go to him and inquire. He would tell them (it is said) of some still alive, what they were then about, &c. Another case, was a man, for banter, went to him to inquire who stole his pocket-book, and he was answered—no one; but you stole one out of a man's pocket when at the vendue—and it was so!

"His mother would not allow him to 'divine for money,' lest he should thereby lose the gift, which she deemed heaven-derived. The idea is not novel, as may be seen in John Woolman's life, where he speaks of a rare gift of healing, which was lost by taking a reward.

"These are strange things, evidencing matters 'not dreamed of in our philosophy.' I give these facts as I heard them—I 'nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice.'"

We find at page 245, a chapter on education. As this is a subject attracting much attention among philanthropists at present, we shall notice one or two remarks of our author, which have certainly the air of novelty. He is evidently of opinion that we are by no means advancing, at least in the right path, in the science of instruction. Let him speak for himself, however.

"Our forefathers were men of too much practical wisdom not to foresee the abiding advantages of proper instruction to the rising generation. What they aimed to impart was solid and substantial. If it in general bore the plain appellation of 'reading, writing, and arithmetic' only, it gave these so effectively as to make many of their pupils persons of first-rate consequence and wisdom in

the early annals of our country. With such gifts in their possession, many of them were enabled to become their self-instructors in numerous branches of science and belles lettres studies. In that day they made no glaring display, under imposing names and high charges, of teaching youth geography, use of maps and globes, dictionary, history, chronology, composition, &c. &c. &c. All these came as matter of course, by mere readings at home, when the mind was matured and the school-acquirements were finished. They then learned to read on purpose to be able to pursue such branches of inquiry for themselves; and having the means in possession, the end as certainly followed without the school-bill charge as with it. They thus acquired, when the mind was old enough fondly to enlist in the inquiry, all they read 'by heart,' because, as it was mental treasure of their own seeking and attainment, it was valued in the affection: they therefore did not perplex their youth by 'getting' lessons by head or dint of memory—of mere facts, forgotten as fast as learned, because above the capacity of the youthful mind to appreciate and keep for future service. All they taught was practical; and, so far as it went, every lesson was efficient and good. The generation has not yet passed away who never 'committed' a page of dictionary-learning in their lives, who as readily attained the common sense of words by use and reading, as any of their offspring now possess them by lessons painfully conned *memoriter*."

Now, protesting, as we must be permitted to do, against the system of attempting to overpower us by winding up the argument with Latin, we appeal to our readers, whether geography, chronology, and the use of the globes, are to be extinguished in this summary way. Doubtless, this "getting lessons by heart," which is such a bug-bear to our author, is a desperate sort of undertaking in many instances; nevertheless, we must be allowed to demur to the doctrine of "attaining the common sense of words," without "the school-bill charge." That our author may have met, on the one hand, with schoolmasters, who, like the renowned Thwackum, gave instruction by applications to the exterior rather than the interior nature, and, on the other, with geniuses of a stamp sufficiently elevated to become "persons of first rate consequence and wisdom," without being taught history, geography, or any other of the "glaring" branches of the belles-lettres, we certainly will not venture to deny, yet we will leave it to his own candour to say in a future edition, whether the degenerated intellects of the present age are not unfairly compared with those of our forefathers; whether we should not in charity concede something to them; and whether we should not yet a little longer permit to their weakness, the use of dictionaries and maps. The time may come when the saying of the wise justice of Messina, shall be ranked with those of the seven sages of Greece—"to be a well-favoured man is the gift of fortune; but to write and read comes by nature."

In the chapter on churches we find some facts recorded which may be judiciously repeated to the lukewarm Erastians of these days.

"The Lutherans had been accustomed to hold separate meetings of worship before they had a pastor in Dr. Muhlenberg, or a church of their own to assemble in. On these occasions they were instructed by the Rev. Mr. Dylander, the

Swedish minister at Wicaco,—a very zealous minister, who often preached sixteen sermons in a week !”

“In the year 1750, the Dutch Reformed church had to encounter an unpleasant incident ; a great strife in the church between the two contending pastors, Mr. Schlatter and the former minister from Dortrecht ; they disputed about the possession of the pulpit several Sundays. The former at last took the pulpit on Saturday, and staid in it all night ! The other and his followers being thus excluded, some beating and bruising occurred, much to the scandal of religious profession. At length the magistrates interfered, and decided in favour of Mr. Schlatter.”

“The Moravians and the German Reformed hired a great house, in which they performed service in German and English, not only two or three times every Sunday, but likewise every night ! But in the winter of 1750, they were obliged to desist from their night meetings, because some young fellows disturbed them by an instrument sounding like the cuckoo, and this they did at the end of every line when they sung their hymns.”

“St. Paul’s church was first got up for the Rev. Mr. Clenaghan. He preached at one time specially against the lewdness of certain women. Soon after, a Miss H. celebrated in that day for her beauty and effrontery, managed to pluck his gown in the streets. This gave rise to some indignation, and a mob of big boys went in a strong body and demolished her house, with some others in her fellowship—‘down town.’”

“Methodism was first introduced into Philadelphia, in the year 1769, by the late Rev. Dr. Joseph Pilmore of St. Paul’s church, he having then as a young man arrived here on a mission from the Rev. Mr. John Wesley. He preached from the steps of the state-house in Chesnut street, and from stands put up in the race fields, being, as himself has told me, a true field preacher, and carrying his whole library and wardrobe in his saddle bags. His popularity as a preacher soon led to his call to St. Paul’s ; among the novelties of his day, he was occasionally aided in preaching by Captain Webb, the British barrack master at Albany, who being a boanarges in declamation, and a one-eyed officer in military costume, caused attraction enough to bring many to hear, from mere curiosity, who soon became proselytes to Methodism. The Methodism of that day, was not so exclusive as now ; it collected people of any faith, who professed to believe in the sensible perceptions of divine regeneration, &c. and required no other rule of association than ‘a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and having the form of godliness, were seeking after the power thereof.’ Calvinists and Arminians were therefore actual members of this first association. The Methodists of that day, although remarkable for their holiness of living, were not distinguished by such violent emotions and bodily exercises in their assemblies as often occur now. There were no jumpers among them, nor fallers-down, nor shouters.”

“About the same time, the far-famed (among Methodists) Benjamin Abbott, from Salem county, New-Jersey, used to ‘come over and help’ to keep alive the new fire which had been kindled in ‘the church at Philadelphia.’ He was at the time an old man, with large shaggy eye-brows, and eyes of flame, of powerful frame, and great extent of voice, which he exerted to the utmost, while preaching and praying, which, with an occasional stamp with his foot, made the church ring. It was like the trumpet sounding to battle, amidst shouts of the victorious and the groans of the wounded. His words ran like fire sparks through the assembly, and ‘those who came to laugh’ stood *aghast* upon the benches—looking down upon the slain and the wounded, while, to use a favourite expression of his, ‘The shout of the King was in the camp.’”

“In December, 1739, Mr. Whitefield left the city, and was accompanied to Chester by about one hundred and fifty horsemen, and preached there to about seven thousand people. At White-clay creek he preached to eight thousand, of whom as many as three thousand were on horseback. Many complimentary effusions to him appear in the gazettes. The very tones of his voice had witchery in it ; it was both powerful and sweet. Colonel Morris, now ninety years of age, told me he was distinctly heard by persons at Gloucester point, when he was

preaching on Society hill, making a distance, by water, of two miles : and old Mr. Dupuy told me, that when he preached from the balcony of the court house on Second street by the market, he could be readily heard by people in boats on the river—not perhaps to make out the sense, but to hear the sound. However, the words ‘he taught them saying’ were said to have been heard even at Gloucester point!”

Politicians will be glad to know something of a name which has become illustrious in their annals—that of Saint Tammany. There is an old story, that when the attorneys wanted a patron saint, and applied to the pope, the whole calendar was appropriated, and they could get no one but the d—l.—We suppose that the active defenders of our rights and liberties, who figure with such fervent patriotism at town meetings, deemed it best to trust to no canonization but their own.

“Bucks county is identified with another Indian of greatest fame, even of the renowned Tamanend, (or Tamané, as Penn spells his name,) the tutelary saint of our country! His remains repose by the side of a spring not far from Doylestown. A letter now before me from my friend E. M. says, ‘I have just returned from visiting the identical spot in which the celebrated Indian chief St. Tamané was buried. It is about four miles from this village, in a beautiful situation, at the side of an endless spring, which, after running about a furlong, empties into the Neshaminy,—the spot is worth visiting; and the reflections it awakens is worth a league’s walk!’ Another letter says, ‘I have discovered a large Indian mound, known by the name of the Giant’s grave,’ and at another place is an Indian burial ground, on a very high hill, not far from Doylestown.”

We notice two anecdotes singularly characteristic of the inquisitive and practical mind of Franklin.

“Charles Thomson, the secretary of congress, said he well remembered the circumstance of the first introduction of broom corn into our country. Dr. B. Franklin chanced to see an imported corn whisk in the possession of a lady, and while examining it as a novelty, he espied a grain of it still attached to the stalk. This he took and planted, and so we at length have got it in abundance among us.

“The yellow willow among us were introduced from a similar accident, as told me by T. Matlack, Mrs. D. Logan, and Samuel Coates. All in our state came originally from some wicker-work found sprouting in a basket-state in Dock creek. It was seen by Dr. Franklin, who took it out and gave the cuttings to Charles Norris of that day, who reared them at the grounds now the site of the Bank of the United States, where they grew to great stature.”

As this work will in all probability go to a second edition, we will venture to call the attention of the worthy author to a few circumstances which will render it in some degree more valuable. We would, in the first place, beg him to forego his sentiments as to the inutility of dictionaries and grammars, at least in regard to the copier of his manuscript and the corrector of the press—for these men, it must be acknowledged, have shown no inconsiderable contempt towards Walker and Lindley Murray. As to the vernacular, however, we are less anxious, because we know that the learned Noah Webster, and various other men, famous in letters, have ventured upon numerous innovations, and our author may be but following their track in discarding the old fashioned guides to whom we have alluded ;

but we cannot think that it is consistent with the courtesy he generally displays, to transmute the languages and appellations of other nations in the manner he has ventured to do. Thus, when he names a sect of foreign philosophers, "Rosie Crucians,"—when he christens a well known architect, "Major L'enfent,"—when he puts such Latin as that at page 229 into the mouth of St. Luke—when he translates "all three in one," by "*tria una in juncta*"—when he designates a farmer by the mysterious synonym of a "*terri cultore*"—and, above all, when he finds out that Arcadia was in Nova Scotia, and that the Arcadians are now "an easy, gentle, happy, but lowly people, still to be found on the banks of the Mississippi near New-Orleans,"—we are bound by our duties as guardians of literature to protest, in the name of nations beyond the Atlantic, against this direct and positive invasion of their rights to their own languages, names and people. A revision, too, of the work, might save us from a reduplication of incidents, which, although they be, as we have acknowledged, truly interesting, might, perhaps, be remembered with a single perusal. There are, too, designations of illustrious individuals so obscurely made, as to tantalize a laudable curiosity—thus, what satisfaction is there in being told the sayings of our author's friend W. W. or the reminiscences of T. H. in regard to corn-fields in the suburbs:—"honour where honour is due"—let us have the names of men whose words and memories are thus treasured up. If the size of the book be not deemed an objection, we would hint to our author, whether the collection of facts might not be still more extended—he has recorded at page 144, the overflowing of Pegg's meadows; undoubtedly, a little research might show us, that many other meadows have been overflowed before and since—he tells us that in the year 1705, there was "a low dirty place in Market street near Dr. Hodgson's house"—that the scholars of Robert Proud used to play tricks with his wig—that in 1712 one of the kennels was full of standing water—that in 1726, two old wells were open at the Centre square—that in 1753, Spruce street was so much neglected by the city officers as to be impassable—that in 1765, died Margaret Gray, remarkable for having had nine husbands—facts such as these, illustrating as they do, the *Annals of Philadelphia*, are, indeed, the fruits of various and indefatigable inquiry—but let our author be assured, they are not limited to the number, great as it is, of those he has embodied in these pages—a rich harvest yet lies untouched before him, and we will venture to declare to him, that another volume of equal size, would scarcely contain all the interesting and similar facts which the patient labour of a few more years might acquire.

ART. V.—*American Ornithology, or the Natural History of the Birds of the United States, &c.* By ALEXANDER WILSON. *With a Sketch of his Life.* By GEORGE ORD, F. L. S., &c. Collins & Co., New-York, and Harrison Hall, Philadelphia.

THE reputation of Wilson's admirable work is now so justly established, as entirely to supersede the task of criticism; our object in noticing it is rather to impart a knowledge of the author's life, and of his self-devotion in struggling to overcome the difficulties which beset every step of his progress in the achievement of his great undertaking. In the performance of this duty, we cannot do justice to his marked character and opinions without quoting largely from the letters and journals written amidst his wanderings, and now incorporated in the spirited biographical sketch of his life, prefixed to the present edition of his work.

Alexander Wilson was born in the town of Paisley, 1766, of parents in the humblest condition of life, who could barely afford to him the rudiments of education at the common school, when he was apprenticed to the trade of a weaver, at which he worked until he reached his eighteenth year. He evinced an early taste for literature, and being of a romantic temperament of mind, he spent much of his scanty leisure in reading, and in making verses. Disliking the confinement of the loom, he resolved to indulge his natural inclinations by wandering over his native hills and glens in the vocation of a pedlar, devoting much of his time to the service of the muses, rather than the profits of vending his merchandise. The genius of Burns had just burst upon his countrymen, and its fire enkindled such an ardent spirit of emulation in the breast of Wilson, that he determined, to use his own words, "to make one bold push for the united interest of pack and poems." Accordingly, he issued proposals for publishing a volume of his poetry, and sallied forth a second time, laden with commodities, in quest of customers and subscribers; but, although he failed in both designs, he yet found means to favour the world with a volume, entitled, "Poems, Humorous, Satirical, and Serious." It passed through two small editions; but its success by no means satisfied the ambition of the author, who, in his riper judgment, had the good sense to condemn this youthful effort of his presumption. He now returned to his trade, as the more certain means of gaining a subsistence; but with a mind still intent upon poetic distinction, he sought and obtained an introduction to Burns; the interview was so far gratifying, that they separated with a promise of future correspondence, which was early interrupted by an incident suf-

ficiently characteristic. Wilson boldly ventured to criticise a line in Tam O'Shanter, remarking, "that there was too much of the *brute* in it." The sensibility of the bard was justly offended, and he replied, "If ever you write to so irritable a creature as a poet, I beg you will use a gentler epithet than to say there is too much of the *brute* in any thing he says or does."

About this period, the French revolution began to spread its infectious influence over the world, including the patriotic weavers of Paisley; misunderstandings arose between them and their employers, in which Wilson bore a conspicuous part, by arraigning the conduct of one of the latter, whose avarice and knavery were supposed to have rendered him obnoxious, in a galling satire, written in the Scottish dialect. The subject of his ridicule soon discovered and prosecuted the author for a libel; who was ignominiously sentenced to burn his verses with his own hands at the town cross, and to suffer a short imprisonment. He underwent the first part of the punishment surrounded by his abettors and admirers, who extolled him as a martyr to the cause of truth and honour.

Disgusted with his lot in life, and indignant against the oppressive effects of the laws of his native country, he resolved to seek for the enjoyment of liberty and better fortune in the United States; but to obtain the means of carrying this design into effect, he wrought unremittingly for four months at the loom, expending only one shilling a week to supply the demands of nature. Accompanied by his nephew, William Duncan, he arrived at New-Castle, from Belfast, on the 14th of July, 1794, without a shilling in his pocket, having slept upon the deck of the ship during the whole of the passage. Exulting in his release from a land which he considered enslaved by the aristocracy of wealth, he hailed his arrival in this country as the era of a new and brighter state of existence. Shouldering his fowling piece, he set forward on foot towards Philadelphia. He used afterwards to dwell with delight upon the impressions with which he beheld the first bird that presented itself to his view, as he entered the forests of Delaware. It was a red-headed woodpecker, which he shot, and thought it the most beautiful object of its kind he had ever seen. This little incident seemed ominous of his future pursuits in the new world. For some time he worked at his trade in the employment of Joshua Sullivan, near Philadelphia, in whom he ever after found a true friend. In 1795, he travelled through the state of New-Jersey in his old capacity of a pedlar, and met with some success. Afterwards he taught school at various places, and during a short vacation from his duties, he travelled on foot nearly eight hundred miles, to visit the Genessee country, for the purpose of seeing his nephew, who resided there, upon a small farm, which they had

been kindly assisted in purchasing by a loan from his friend, Joshua Sullivan. The object of the purchase was to provide an asylum for his sister, the mother of his nephew, and her family of small children, whom poverty and misfortune had recently driven to this country.

At length, after various changes of abode, employed chiefly as a schoolmaster, he accepted a permanent engagement to teach the Union school, situated at Gray's Ferry, on the Schuylkill, a few miles from Philadelphia. His removal proved decisive of his future pursuits; it was here that he contracted an affectionate intimacy with the venerable naturalist, William Bartram, and his family, whose residence and magnificent botanic garden were in the vicinity of the schoolhouse. Always a worshipper of the beauties of nature, his inborn taste was kindly fostered in the society and by the instruction of his friends. He soon discovered the imperfections of books on the subject of the birds of this country, by a comparison with the living objects themselves, and gradually acquired the skill of a naturalist. Although much of his time was spent alone in the solitary labour of teaching, he was happy in the enjoyment of many new sources of pleasure; but after a time, he became restless, and his spirits suffered depression by ruminating upon the obscurity of the teacher of a country school. His friend, Mr. Lawson, the engraver, to whom he disclosed the gloomy state of his feelings, promptly administered relief, by advising him to renounce poetry and the flute, and substitute the amusement of drawing, as an employment better fitted to restore the equilibrium of his mind. His efforts in imitating sketches of the human figure were so unpromising, that he threw them aside in despair, when Mr. Bartram recommended a trial in drawing birds, and lent him his own specimens to copy after. The attempt was successfully made; there seemed to be something magical in the pursuit, that aroused all the dormant energies of his nature, and he soon learned to lead the way in this beautiful art. His progress in natural history kept pace with his advancement in drawing, nor did he neglect to improve his qualifications as a teacher, by the most diligent study of various other branches of knowledge. It was not until the year 1804, that he thought of devoting himself exclusively to the pursuits of a naturalist, with a glimmering hope of giving to the world a complete work on American ornithology. He carefully examined the resources of his mind, and the many requisite branches of knowledge; the undertaking seemed hazardous; he pondered it for a long while before he ventured to mention it to his friends. At length he made known his views to Mr. Bartram, who freely expressed his confidence in his abilities and acquirements, but, with a full knowledge of his

circumstances, ventured to hint, that the difficulties standing in the way were too great to be overcome. Mr. Lawson united in spreading before him the impediments to his enterprise, but the inflexible resolution of Wilson scorned all opposition; he gave a ready answer to all their "cautious and cold-blooded maxims of prudence," as he chose to stigmatize them.

March 12th, 1804, he writes to Mr. Lawson,

"I dare say you begin to think me very ungenerous and unfriendly for not seeing you for so long a time. I will simply state the cause, and I know you will excuse me. Six days in a week, I have no more time than just to swallow my meals, and return to my *sanctum sanctorum*. Five days of the following week are occupied in the same routine of *pedagoguing* matters; and the other two are sacrificed to that itch for drawing, which I caught from your honourable self. I never was more wishful to spend an afternoon with you. In three weeks I shall have a few days vacancy, and mean to be in town chief part of the time. I am most earnestly bent on pursuing my plan of making a collection of all the birds in this part of North America. Now I don't want you to throw cold water, as Shakspeare says, on this notion, quixotic as it may appear. I have been so long accustomed to the building of airy castles and brain windmills, that it has become one of my earthly comforts; a sort of a rough bone, that amuses me when sated with the dull drudgeries of life."

To Mr. B—,

"I send for your amusement a few attempts at our indigenous birds, hoping that your good nature will excuse their deficiencies, while you point them out to me. They were chiefly coloured by candle light. I have now got my collection of native birds considerably enlarged; and shall endeavour, if possible, to obtain all the smaller ones this summer. Be pleased to mark on the drawings with a pencil, the names of each bird, as, except three or four, I do not know them. I shall be extremely obliged to you for every hint that will assist me in this agreeable amusement.—I am very anxious to see the performances of your fair pupil; and beg you will assure her from me, that any of the birds I have, are heartily at her service. Surely nature is preferable, to copy after, to the works of the best masters, though perhaps more difficult; for, I declare, that the face of an owl and the back of a lark, have put me to a nonplus; and if Miss Nancy will be so obliging as to try her hand on the last mentioned, I will furnish her with one in good order, and will copy her drawing with the greatest pleasure, having spent almost a week on two different ones, and afterwards destroyed them both, and got nearly in the slough of despond."

The next letter is one of consolation addressed to his venerable friend under the pressure of a severe domestic calamity; it is written in a strain of eloquence and feeling worthy of the pen of his countryman, Burns, and free from his affectation. We copy nearly the whole of it, to exhibit his extraordinary proficiency in composition, under the most adverse circumstances, and to prove his entire fitness for the undertaking which he so earnestly meditated.—

"I take the first few moments I have had since receiving your letter, to thank you for your obliging attention to my little attempts at drawing; and for the very affectionate expressions of esteem with which you honour me. But sorry I am, indeed, that afflictions so severe, as those you mention, should fall where so much worth and sensibility reside, while the profligate, the unthinking, and unfeeling, so frequently pass through life, strangers to sickness, adversity, and suffering. But God visits those with distress, whose enjoyments he wishes to render more exquisite. The storms of affliction do not last for ever; and sweet is the serene air, and warm sunshine, after a day of darkness and tempest. Our friend has in-

deed passed away, in the bloom of youth and expectation; but nothing has happened but almost every day's experience teaches to expect. How many millions of beautiful flowers have flourished and faded under your eye; and how often has the whole profusion of blossoms, the hopes of a whole year, been blasted by an untimely frost. He has gone only a little before us; we must soon follow; but while the feelings of nature cannot be repressed, it is our duty to bow with humble resignation to the decisions of the Great Father of all, rather receiving with gratitude the blessings he is pleased to bestow, than repining at the loss of those he thinks proper to take from us. But allow me, my dear friend, to withdraw your thoughts from so melancholy a subject, since the best way to avoid the force of any overpowering passion, is to turn its direction another way.

"That lovely season is now approaching, when the garden, woods, and fields, will again display their foliage and flowers. Every day we may expect strangers, flocking from the south, to fill our woods with harmony. The pencil of nature is now at work, and outlines, tints, and gradations of lights and shades that baffle all description, will soon be spread before us by that great master, our most benevolent friend and father. Let us cheerfully partake in the feast he is preparing for all our senses. Let us survey those millions of green strangers just peeping into day, as so many happy messengers come to proclaim the power and the munificence of the Creator. I confess that I was always an enthusiast in my admiration of the rural scenery of nature; but, since your example and encouragement have set me to attempt to imitate her productions, I see new beauties in every bird, plant, and flower I contemplate; and find my ideas of the incomprehensible first cause still more exalted, the more minutely I examine his works. I sometimes smile to think, that while others are immersed in deep schemes of speculation and aggrandizement—in building towns and purchasing plantations, I am entranced in contemplation over the plumage of a lark, or gazing, like a despairing lover, on the lineaments of an owl. While others are hoarding up their bags of money, without the power of enjoying it, I am collecting, without injuring my conscience, or wounding my peace of mind, those beautiful specimens of nature's works that are for ever pleasing. I have had live crows, hawks, and owls—opossums, squirrels, snakes, lizards, &c., so that my room has sometimes reminded me of Noah's ark; but Noah had a wife in one corner of it, and in this particular it does not altogether tally. I receive every subject of natural history that is brought to me, and although they do not march into my ark from all quarters, as they did into that of our great ancestor, yet I find means, by the distribution of a few five penny bits, to make them find the way fast enough. A boy, not long ago, brought me a large basket full of crows. I expect his next load will be bull-frogs, if I don't soon issue orders to the contrary. One of my boys caught a mouse in school, a few days ago, and directly marched up to me with his prisoner. I set about drawing it that same evening, and all the while, the pantings of its little heart showed it to be in the most extreme agonies of fear. I had intended to kill it, in order to fix it in the claws of a stuffed owl, but happening to spill a few drops of water near where it was tied, it lapped it up with such eagerness, and looked in my face with such an eye of supplicating terror, as perfectly overcame me. I immediately untied it, and restored it to life and liberty. The agonies of a prisoner at the stake, while the fire and instruments of torment are preparing, could not be more severe than the sufferings of that poor mouse; and insignificant as the object was, I felt at that moment the sweet sensations that mercy leaves on the mind when she triumphs over cruelty.—My dear friend, you see I take the liberty of an old acquaintance with you, in thus trifling with your time, &c."

Again—May, 1804—

"I send you a few more imitations of birds for your opinion, which I value beyond that of any body else, though I am seriously apprehensive that I am troublesome. These are the last I shall draw for some time, as the employment consumes every leisure moment, leaving nothing for friendship, or those rural recreations which I so much delight in. Even poetry, whose heavenly enthusiasm

I used to glory in, can hardly ever find me at home, so much has this bewitching amusement engrossed all my senses. Please send me the names of the birds. I wish to draw a small flower, in order to represent the Humming-bird in the act of feeding: will you be so good as to send me one suitable, and not too large? The legs and feet of some are unfinished; they are all miserably imperfect, but your generous candour I know to be beyond all defects."

In the month of October, 1804, he set out on foot, accompanied by two of his friends, to visit the Falls of Niagara. The impressions made upon his mind during this journey, were afterwards embodied in a very pleasing poem, entitled "*The Foresters*," which was published in the *Port Folio*. Upon his return, and with the sum of three-quarters of a dollar in his pocket, he addresses his friend, Mr. Bartram, in the enthusiastic spirit of a Ledyard, anxious to explore the ends of the world in pursuit of knowledge.

"Though in this tour I have had every disadvantage of deep roads and rough weather; hurried marches, and many other inconveniences to encounter; yet so far am I from being satisfied with what I have seen, or discouraged by the fatigues which every traveller must submit to, that I feel more eager than ever to commence some more extensive expedition; where scenes and subjects entirely new, and generally unknown, might reward my curiosity; and where, perhaps, my humble acquisitions might add something to the stores of knowledge. For all the horrors and privations incident to such an undertaking, I feel confident in my own spirit and resolution. With no family to enchain my affections; no ties but those of friendship and the most ardent love of my adopted country—with a constitution which hardens amidst fatigues; and a disposition social and open, which can find itself at home by an Indian fire in the depths of the woods, as well as in the best apartment of the civilized; I have, at present, a real design of becoming a traveller. But I am miserably deficient in many acquirements absolutely necessary for such a character. Botany, mineralogy, and drawing, I most ardently wish to be instructed in, and with these I should fear nothing. Can I yet make any progress in botany, sufficient to enable me to be useful, and what would be the most proper mode to proceed?"

In February, 1805, he writes to his nephew, W. Duncan,—

"This winter has been entirely lost to me, as well as to yourself. I shall, on the twelfth of next month, be scarcely able to collect a sufficiency to pay my board, having not more than twenty-seven scholars."

But the spring brought with it, as usual, its glories and its consolations to the breast of Wilson. Intent upon his great design, he again writes to Mr. B. with fresh specimens of his pencil.—

"Criticisme these, my dear friend, without fear of offending me—this will instruct, but not discourage me. For there is not among all our naturalists, one who knows so well what they are, and how they ought to be represented. In the mean time, accept my best wishes for your happiness—wishes as sincere as ever one human being breathed for another. To your advice and encouraging encomiums, I am indebted for these few specimens, and for all that will follow. *They may yet tell posterity that I was honoured with your friendship, and that to your inspiration they owe their existence.*"

The plates illustrative of Edwards, were etched by himself. Wilson, with his characteristic ardour, felt confident, that with a little instruction in the art, added to his knowledge of colouring, he might be able to prepare the figures for his contemplat-

ed work, in a style not inferior to his own spirited and beautiful drawings from nature. He procured the copper, which was prepared under the tuition of his friend Lawson; the day after he had parted from his preceptor, the latter was surprised "to behold him bouncing into his room and exclaiming, 'I have finished my plate, let us bite it in with aquafortis at once, for I must have a proof before I leave town.'" Lawson burst into laughter at the ludicrous appearance of his friend, animated with impetuous zeal; and to humour him granted his request. A proof was taken, but it fell far short of Wilson's expectations, or of his ideas of correctness. Further efforts in the art of etching, though creditable to his ingenuity, convinced him that nothing short of the graver could in any degree satisfy his ideas of excellence. But of the art of engraving he was ignorant, and he could not command means sufficient to defray the expense even for the plates of a single volume, upon the magnificent plan which his comprehensive mind had conceived; and his propositions to his friend Lawson to engage with him jointly in the work, were not accepted, from motives of obvious prudence. Baffled, but not dismayed in his progress, he declared with solemn emphasis, his resolution of proceeding alone in the publication, if it should even cost him his life. "*I shall at least leave a small beacon to point out where I perished.*"

In 1806, he applied, through the auspices of his friend Bartram, to President Jefferson, soliciting the place of a naturalist in one of the exploring expeditions then in contemplation, and afterwards executed by Pike, and Lewis and Clarke. Although the most satisfactory evidences of his qualifications were in possession of the President, from some cause unexplained, no answer was returned to his application; a neglect which sunk deep in the sensitive mind of Wilson. As an auxiliary means of proceeding in his chief designs, he abandoned his school, and entered into engagements, at a liberal salary, with Samuel F. Bradford, a bookseller in Philadelphia, in the capacity of assistant editor of Rees's Cyclopædia, which he was then about to republish. Shortly afterwards, he made known to Mr. Bradford his embryo work on American Ornithology, and exhibited such unequivocal proofs of his ability to complete it, that he was induced to become the publisher, and engaged to furnish all the funds requisite for an edition of two hundred copies. Wilson stipulated to find all the drawings and descriptions at his own cost, and to have the uncontrouled superintendence of the work, reserving to himself, for his sole support, a small stipend for colouring the plates. To perform this drudgery, he was, as the work advanced, obliged to employ assistants, who too often, from a deplorable want of skill and taste, made caricatures of what was intended to be faithful imitations of nature; his mind was ruffled by

their negligence; and the labour of correcting their imperfections, in conjunction with his other duties, compelled him to encroach upon the indispensable hours of rest. His friends did not fail to admonish him of the destructive effects of this intense application of his time; but he would reply—"that life was short, and without exertion nothing could be performed." One of the causes of this self-devotion was his poverty. Having relinquished his salary as assistant editor of the *Cyclopædia*, he had no other resource, than that derived from the unremitting use of his pencil. In the introduction to the sixth volume, he feelingly adverts to his embarrassments,—

"The publication of an original work of this kind, in this country, has been attended with difficulties, great, and it must be confessed, sometimes discouraging to the author, whose only reward, hitherto, has been the favourable opinion of his fellow-citizens, and the pleasure of the pursuit."

In the preface to the first volume, he expresses to the public the liberality of his views in the cause of science, the projected extent of his work, and his manly reliance upon his own exertions to complete it.—

"It is also my design (he observes) to enter more largely than usual, into the manners and dispositions of each respective species; to become, as it were, their faithful biographer, and to delineate their various peculiarities in character, song, building, economy, &c."

It now became necessary, in order to add to his collections in natural history, and to procure patronage for his work, that he should commence those pilgrimages, that he afterwards performed in every quarter of this extensive continent.—September, 1808, he writes to Mr. Bartram—

"In a few moments, I set out for the Eastern states, through Boston to Maine, and back through the state of Vermont, in search of birds and subscribers. I regret that I have not been able to spend an evening with you before my departure; but I shall have a better stock of adventures to relate after my return."

In a previous letter, he observes,—

"I hope you are in good health, enjoying in your little paradise the advances of spring, shedding leaves, buds, and blossoms; and bringing in her train, choirs of the sweetest songsters that earth can boast of, whilst every zephyr that plays around you breathes fragrance.—Ah! how different my situation in this delightful season, immured among musty books, and compelled to forego the harmony of the woods, for the everlasting din of the city; the very face of the blessed heavens involved in soot, and interrupted by walls and chimney tops. But, if I don't launch out into the woods and fields oftener than I have done these twelve months, may I be transformed into a street musician."

He writes from Boston, October 10, 1808,—

"I have purposely avoided saying any thing either good or bad, on the encouragement I have met with. I shall only say, that among the many thousands who have examined my book, and among those were men of the first character for taste and literature, I have heard nothing but expressions of the highest admiration and esteem. If I have been mistaken in publishing a work too good for the country, it is a fault not likely to be soon repeated, and will pretty severely correct itself. But whatever may be the result of these matters, I shall

not sit down with folded hands, whilst any thing can be done to carry my point; since God helps them who help themselves. I am fixing correspondents in every corner of these northern regions, like so many pickets and out posts, so that scarcely a *Wren* or *Til* shall be able to pass along from York to Canada, but I shall be able to get intelligence of it."

Of his adventures in this tour, he gives his correspondent many pleasant accounts.—

"I arrived in New-York the same evening. The next day I wrote a number of letters, enclosing copies of the prospectus to different gentlemen in town. In the afternoon of Tuesday, I took my book and waited on each of those gentlemen to whom I had written letters the preceding day. Among these, I found some friends, but more admirers. The professors of Columbia College expressed much esteem for my performance. The professor of languages, being a Scotchman, and also a Wilson, seemed to feel all the pride of partiality so common to his countrymen; and would have done me any favour in his power. I spent the whole of this week traversing the streets, from one particular house to another, till, I believe, I became as well known as the public crier, or the clerk of the market, for I could frequently perceive gentlemen point me out to others as I passed with my book under my arm."

From Hartford.—

"The publisher of a newspaper here, expressed the highest admiration of the work, and has since paid many handsome compliments to it in his publication, as three other editors did in New-York. This is a species of currency that will neither purchase plates, nor pay the printer; but, nevertheless, it is gratifying to the vanity of an author, *when nothing better can be got.*"

"Lawyers swarm in every town, like locusts; almost every door has the word *office* painted over it, which, like the web of a spider, points out the place where the spoiler lurks for his prey."

"It was late in the evening when I entered Boston, and whirling through the narrow, lighted streets, or rather lanes, I could form but a very imperfect idea of the town. Early the next morning, resolved to see where I was, I sought out the way to Beacon hill, the highest part of the town, and whence you look down on the roofs of the houses—the bay interspersed with islands—the ocean—the surrounding country, and distant mountains of New-Hampshire; but the most singular objects are the long wooden bridges, of which there are five or six, some of them three quarters of a mile long, uniting the towns of Boston and Charlestown with each other, and with the main land. I looked round with an eager eye for that eminence, so justly celebrated in the history of the revolution of the United States, *Bunker-hill*, but I could see nothing that I could think deserving of the name, till a gentleman, who stood by, pointed out a white monument upon a height beyond Charlestown, which he said was the place; I explored the way thither, without paying much attention to passing objects; and in tracing the streets of Charlestown, was astonished and hurt at the indifference with which the inhabitants directed me to the place. I inquired if there was any person still living here, who had been in the battle, and I was directed to a Mr. Miller, who was a lieutenant in this memorable affair. He is a man of about sixty—stout, remarkably fresh coloured, with a benign and manly countenance. I introduced myself without ceremony—shook his hand with sincere cordiality, and said, with some warmth, that I was proud of the honour of meeting with one of the heroes of Bunker-hill—the first unconquerable champions of their country. He looked at me, pressed my hand in his, and the tears instantly glistened in his eyes, which as instantly called up corresponding ones in my own. In our way to the place, he called on a Mr. Carter, who, he said, was also in the action, and might recollect some circumstances which he had forgotten. With these two veterans I spent three hours, the most interesting to me of any of my life. As they pointed out to me the route of the British—the American entrenchments—the place where the greatest slaughter was made—the spot where Warren fell, and where he was thrown amid heaps of the dead, I felt as though I

could have encountered a whole battalion myself, in the same glorious cause. The old soldiers were highly delighted with my enthusiasm; we drank a glass of wine to the memory of the illustrious dead, and parted almost with regret."

It is almost needless to add, that since the period of Wilson's indignant reproaches, a monument worthy of the fame of our revolutionary veterans, is nearly executed, upon the field of their first exploit; and that the gratitude of their posterity has provided a national bounty for their support.

In a subsequent excursion, which he made to the White Mountains in New-Hampshire, the good people of Haverhill, perceiving a stranger among them of very inquisitive habits, who evinced an unbecoming zeal in exploring the country, sagaciously concluded, that he was a spy from Canada, employed in taking sketches of the place, to facilitate the invasion of an enemy. It was, therefore, thought to be conducive to the public safety, that Wilson should be apprehended; and he was accordingly taken into the custody of a magistrate, who, upon being made acquainted with his character, and the nature of his visit, politely dismissed him, with many apologies for the mistake. His sketch of these giant mountains is spirited and just.

"From Groton, I coasted along the Connecticut to a place called Haverhill, ten miles from the foot of Moose-hillock, one of the highest of the White Mountains of New-Hampshire. I spent the greater part of the day in ascending to the peak of one of these majestic mountains, whence I had the most sublime and astonishing view that was ever afforded me. One immensity of forest lay below, extended on all sides to the farthest verge of the horizon; while the only prominent objects were the columns of smoke from burning woods, that rose from various parts of the earth beneath to the heavens, for the day was beautiful and serene."

In this first of his pilgrimages, his success by no means proved a compensation for his toil and diligence. On his return, he writes, from Albany,—

"I have laboured with the zeal of a knight-errant in exhibiting this book of mine, wherever I went; travelled with it, like a beggar with his bantling, from town to town, and from one county to another. I have been loaded with praises, with compliments and kindnesses—shaken almost to pieces in stage-coaches; have wandered among strangers, hearing the same O's and Ah's, and telling the same story a thousand times over—and for what? Aye, that's it! You are very anxious to know, and you shall know the whole when I reach Philadelphia. The only objection has been the sum of *one hundred and twenty dollars*, which, in innumerable instances, has risen like an evil genius, between me and my hopes."

The whole number of subscribers procured, during his tour, was *forty-one*.

After tarrying at home a few days, he bent his steps to the south, visiting every city and town of importance as far as Savannah. The journey, being performed in the winter, and alone, was of course attended with many inconveniences. He returned by sea to New-York, in the month of March, 1809, with a very small addition to his list of subscribers. The extracts from his

letters exhibit his untiring perseverance and cheerful submission to those privations incident to his hardy mode of travelling; they are moreover highly descriptive of the state and the manners of the country through which he journeyed.

"In Annapolis, I passed my book through both houses of the legislature: the wise men of Maryland stared and gaped, from bench to bench; but having never heard of such a thing as one hundred and twenty dollars for a book, the *ayes* for subscribing were *none*; and so it was unanimously determined in the *negative*. Nowise discouraged by this sage decision, I pursued my route through the tobacco fields, sloughs, and swamps, of this illiterate corner of the state, to Washington, distant thirty-eight miles; and in my way opened fifty-five gates. I was forewarned that I should meet with many of these embarrassments, and I opened twenty-two of them with all the patience and philosophy I could muster; but when I still found them coming thicker and faster, my patience and philosophy both abandoned me, and I saluted every new gate (which obliged me to plunge into the mud to open it) with perhaps less Christian resignation than I ought to have done. The negroes are very numerous, and most wretchedly clad; their whole covering, in many instances, assumes the appearance of neither coat, waistcoat, nor breeches, but a motley mass of coarse, dirty woollen rags, of various colours, gathered up about them. When I stopped at some of the negro huts, to inquire the road, both men and women huddled up their filthy bundles of rags around them, with both arms, in order to cover their nakedness, and came out very civilly, to show me the way."

Charleston:—

"The productions of these parts of North-Carolina, are hogs, turpentine, tar, and apple-brandy. A tumbler of toddy is usually the morning's beverage of the inhabitants, as soon as they get out of bed. So universal is the practice, that the first thing you find them engaged in, after rising, is, preparing the brandy *toddy*. You can scarcely meet a man whose lips are not parched and chopped, or blistered, with drinking this poison. Those who do not drink it, they say, are sure of the ague. I, however, escaped. The pine woods have a singular appearance, every tree being stripped, on one or more sides, of the bark, for six or seven feet up. The turpentine covers these parts in thick masses. I saw the people in different parts of the woods, mounted on benches, chopping down the sides of the trees, leaving a trough or box in the tree for the turpentine to run into. Of hogs they have immense multitudes; one person will sometimes own five hundred. The leaders have bells round their necks; and every drove knows its particular call, whether it be a conch shell, or the bawling of a negro, though half a mile off. Their owners will sometimes drive them for four or five days, to a market, without once feeding them.

"The taverns are the most desolate and beggarly imaginable; bare, bleak, and dirty walls; one or two old broken chairs, and a bench, form all the furniture. The white females seldom make their appearance; and every thing must be transacted through the medium of negroes.—At supper, you sit down to a meal, the very sight of which is sufficient to deaden the most eager appetite; and you are surrounded by half a dozen dirty, half-naked blacks, male and female. The house itself is raised upon props, four or five feet; and the space below is left open for the hogs, with whose charming vocal performance the wearied traveller is serenaded the whole night long, till he is forced to curse the hogs, the house, and every thing about it.

"The general features of North-Carolina, where I crossed it, are immense, solitary, pine savannas, through which the road winds among stagnant ponds, swarming with alligators; dark sluggish creeks, of the colour of brandy, over which are thrown high wooden bridges, without railings, and so crazy and rotten as not only to alarm one's horse, but also the rider, and to make it a matter of thanksgiving with both, when they get fairly *over*, without going *through*; enormous cypress swamps, which, to a stranger, have a striking, desolate, and ruinous appearance.

"From Wilmington, I rode through solitary pine savannas, and cypress swamps, as before; sometimes thirty miles, without seeing a hut, or human being. On arriving at the Wackamaw, Pedee, and Black river, I made long zigzags among the rich nabobs, who lived on their rice plantations, amidst large villages of negro huts. One of these gentlemen told me, that he had *'something better than six hundred head of blacks.'*

"These excursions detained me greatly. The roads to the plantations were so long, so difficult to find, and so bad, and the hospitality of the planters was such, that I could scarcely get away again.—I ought to have told you, that the deep sands of South Carolina had so worn out my horse, that with all my care, I found that he would give up. Chance led me to the house of a planter, named V., about forty miles north of the river Wackamaw, where I proposed to bargain with him, and to give up my young *blood-horse* for another in exchange; giving him at least as good a character as he deserved. *He* asked me twenty dollars to boot, and *I* thirty. We parted, but I could perceive that he had taken a liking to my stud; so I went on. He followed me to the sea beach, about three miles, under pretence of pointing out to me the road; and there, on the sands, amidst the roar of the Atlantic, we finally bargained; and I found myself in possession of a large, well formed, and elegant sorrel horse, that ran off with me at a canter, for fifteen miles, along the sea-shore; and travelled the same day forty-two miles, with nothing but a few mouthfuls of rice straw, which I got from a negro. If you have ever seen the rushes with which carpenters sometimes smooth their work, you may form some idea of the common fare of the South Carolina horses. I found now that I had got a very devil before my chair; the least sound of the whip made him spring half a rod at a leap; no road, however long or heavy, could tame him. Two or three times he had nearly broken my neck, and chair to boot; and at Georgetown ferry, he threw one of the boatmen into the river. But he is an excellent traveller, and for that one quality, I forgive him all his sins, only keeping a close rein and a sharp look out.

"I should now give you some account of Charleston, with the streets of which I am as well acquainted as I was with those of New-York and Boston; but I reserve that until we meet. I shall only say, that the streets cross each other at right angles—are paved on the sides—have a low bed of sand in the middle; and frequently are in a state fit to compare with those of Norfolk. The town, however, is neat, has a gay appearance, is full of shops, and has a market-place which far surpasses those of Philadelphia for cleanliness, and is an honour to the city. Many of the buildings have two, three, and four ranges of piazzas, one above another, with a great deal of gingerbread work about them. The streets are crowded with negroes; and their quarrels often afford amusement to the passengers. In a street called Broad street, I every day see a crowd of wretchedly clad blacks, huddled in a corner for sale; people handling them as they do black cattle. Here are female chimney sweeps; stalls with roasted sweet potatoes for sale; and on the wharves, clubs of blacks, male and female, sitting round fires, amid heaps of oyster-shells, cooking their victuals; these seem the happiest mortals on earth. The finest groups for a comic painter might every day be found here that any country can produce. The indolence, want of energy, and dissipation of the wealthy part of the community in this place, are truly contemptible. The superabundance of negroes in the southern states has destroyed the activity of the whites. The carpenter, bricklayer, and even the blacksmith, stand with their hands in their pockets, overlooking their negroes. The planter orders his servant to tell the overseer to see my horse fed and taken care of; the overseer sends another negro to tell the driver to send one of his hands to do it. Before half of this routine is gone through, I have myself unharnessed, rubbed down, and fed my horse. Every thing must be done through the agency of these slovenly blacks. These are, however, not one-tenth of the curses slavery has brought on the southern states. Nothing has surprised me more than the cold, melancholy reserve of the females of the best families in South Carolina and Georgia."

The result of this expedition, was an addition of one hundred and twenty-five subscribers. Soon after his return, the second

volume was published; and it was now deemed expedient to strike off a new edition of three hundred copies, in addition to the original number of two hundred. He declares to his friend, that the undertaking had involved him in difficulties and expenses which he had never dreamt of; that he regarded himself as a volunteer in the cause of Natural History, impelled by nobler views than those of money, of which, in fact, he had never received one cent to reward his labours. His sole ambition was to render the work worthy of public patronage. To his friend Mr. Lawson, he writes—

"I hope you go on courageously with the eagle; let no expense deter you from giving it the freest and most masterly touches of your graver. I think we shall be able to offer it as a competitor with the best that this country or Europe can produce."

In the month of January, 1810, he again set forward upon a journey to Pittsburg, and down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New-Orleans. His letters, written during his solitary wanderings, present the most spirited sketches, drawn from the life, that have ever appeared, of the state of the country, and the rude manners of its inhabitants, at that *remote* period of time—they merit preservation, as a happy contrast to the prodigies of improvement in industry, art, and civilization, which now exist almost throughout that boundless region of fertility and wealth.

Among all the travellers who have visited us, Talleyrand is the only one, in our opinion, whose acuteness in marking the local peculiarities of the United States, can in any degree be compared with the discriminating sketches of Wilson. We shall therefore not scruple to multiply our extracts from his letters, more especially, as the costly work in which they are published, must necessarily be confined in its circulation. We earnestly advise Mr. Ord to publish a cheap edition of his biographical notice, separate from the American Ornithology, and to enlarge it with further extracts from the unpublished letters and papers of Wilson. In preparing the work, he might, in our opinion, without injury to it, omit his remarks on the poetry of his friend. Wilson was, in fact, a very indifferent poet, although his mind possessed many of the finest elements of poetry; it is his prose, only, which has given distinction to his name.

His first letter, dated Pittsburg, February 22, 1810, is addressed to his friend, Lawson. —

"From this stage of my ornithological pilgrimage, I sit down with pleasure to give you some account of my adventures since we parted. On arriving at Lancaster, I waited on the governor, secretary of state, and such other great folks, as were likely to be useful to me. The governor received me with civility, passed some good natured compliments on the volumes, and readily added his name to the list. He seems an active man, of plain good sense and little ceremony. By Mr. L., I was introduced to many members of both houses, but I found them, in general, such a pitiful, squabbling, political mob; so split up,

and jostling about the mere formalities of legislation, without knowing any thing of its realities, that I abandoned them in disgust. I must, however, except from this censure, a few intelligent individuals, friends to science, and possessed of taste, who treated me with great kindness. On Friday evening I set out for Columbia, where I spent one day in vain. I crossed the Susquehannah on Sunday afternoon, with some difficulty, having to cut our way through the ice, for several hundred yards, and passing on to York, paid my respects to all the literati of that place without success. Five miles north of this town lives a very extraordinary character, between eighty and ninety years of age, who has lived by trapping birds and quadrupeds these thirty years. Dr. F. carried me out in a sleigh to see him, and presented me with a tolerably good full length figure of him; he has also promised to transmit to me, such a collection of facts relative to this singular original, as will enable me to draw up an interesting narrative of him for the *Port Folio*. I carried him half a pound of snuff, of which he is insatiably fond, taking it by handfuls. I was much diverted with the astonishment he expressed, on looking at the plates of my work; he could tell me anecdotes of the greater part of the subjects of the first volume, and some of the second. One of his traps, which he says he invented himself, is remarkable for ingenuity, and extremely simple. Having a letter from Dr. M. to a clergyman in Hanover, I passed on through a well cultivated country, chiefly inhabited by Germans, to that place, where a certain judge took upon himself to say, '*that such a book as mine, ought not to be encouraged, as it was not within the reach of the commonalty, and, therefore, inconsistent with our republican institutions!*' By the same mode of reasoning, which I did not dispute, I undertook to prove him a greater culprit than myself, in erecting a large, elegant three story brick house, so much beyond the reach of the commonalty, as he called them, and, consequently, grossly contrary to our republican institutions."

After describing the Birmingham aspect of Pittsburg, and noting down the addition of fourteen new subscribers, he resolved to avoid the badness of the roads, by rowing himself down the Ohio in a small skiff, alone. Upon his arrival at Lexington in Kentucky, he writes;—

"Having now reached the *second* stage of my bird-catching expedition, I willingly sit down to give you some of my adventures and remarks since leaving Pittsburg; by the aid of a good map, and your usual stock of patience, you will be able to listen to my story, and trace all my wanderings. Though generally dissuaded from venturing myself on so long a voyage down the Ohio, in an open skiff, I considered this mode, with all its inconveniences, as the most favourable to my researches, and the most suitable to my funds, and I determined accordingly. Two days before my departure, the Alleghany river was one wide torrent of broken ice, and I calculated on experiencing considerable difficulties on this score. My stock of provisions consisted of some biscuit and cheese, and a bottle of cordial presented me by a gentleman of Pittsburg; my gun, trunk, and great coat occupied one end of the boat; I had a small tin, occasionally to bale her, and to take my beverage from the Ohio with; and bidding adieu to the smoky confines of Pitt, I launched into the stream, and soon winded away among the hills that every where enclose this noble river. The weather was warm and serene, and the river like a mirror, except where floating masses of ice spotted its surface, and which required some care to steer clear of; but these, to my surprise, in less than a day's sailing, totally disappeared. Far from being concerned at my new situation, I felt my heart expand with joy at the novelties which surrounded me; I listened with pleasure to the whistling of the red-bird on the banks as I passed, and contemplated the forest scenery as it receded, with increasing delight. The smoke of the numerous maple sugar camps, rising lazily among the mountains, gave great effect the varying landscape; and the grotesque log cabins, that here and there opened from the woods, were diminished into mere dog-houses by the sublimity of the impending mountains. If you suppose to yourself two parallel ranges of forest-covered hills, whose regular summits

are seldom more than three or four miles apart, winding through an immense extent of country, and enclosing a river half a mile wide, which alternately washes the steep declivity on one side, and leaves a rich flat forest-clad bottom on the other, of a mile or so in breadth, you will have a pretty correct idea of the appearance of the Ohio. The banks of these rich flats are from twenty to sixty and eighty feet high, and even these last were within a few feet of being overflowed in December, 1808.

"I now stripped with alacrity to my new avocation. The current went about two and a half miles an hour, and I added about three and a half miles more to the boat's way with my oars. In the course of the day I passed a number of arks, or, as they are usually called, Kentucky boats, loaded with what it must be acknowledged are the most valuable commodities of a country, viz. men, women, and children, horses and ploughs, flour, mill-stones, &c. Several of these floating caravans were loaded with store-goods, for the supply of the settlement through which they passed, having a counter erected, shawls, muslins, &c., displayed, and every thing ready for transacting business. On approaching a settlement, they blow a horn, or tin trumpet, which announces to the inhabitants their arrival. I boarded many of these arks, and felt much interested at the sight of so many human beings, migrating like birds of passage to the luxuriant regions of the south and west. The arks are built in the form of a parallelogram, being from twelve to fourteen feet wide, and from forty to seventy feet long, covered above, rowed only occasionally by two oars before, and steered by a long and powerful one fixed above.

"I rowed twenty odd miles the first spell, and found I should be able to stand it perfectly well. About an hour after night, I put up at a miserable cabin, fifty-two miles from Pittsburg, where I slept on what I supposed to be corn-stocks, or something worse; so preferring the smooth bosom of the Ohio to this *brush-heap*, I got up long before day, and being under no apprehension of losing my way, I again pushed out into the stream. The landscape on each side lay in one mass of shade, but the grandeur of the projecting headlands, and vanishing points, or lines, was charmingly reflected in the smooth glassy surface below. I could only discover when I was passing a clearing by the crowing of cocks; and now and then, in more solitary places, the big horned owl made a most hideous hollowing, that echoed among the mountains. In this lonesome manner, with full leisure for observation and reflection, exposed to hardships all day, and hard births all night, to storms of rain, hail, and snow, for it froze severely almost every night, I persevered, from the 24th of February, to Sunday evening, March 17th, when I moored my skiff safely in Bear-grass creek, at the rapids of the Ohio, after a voyage of seven hundred and twenty miles. My hands suffered the most; and it will be some weeks yet, before they recover their former feeling and flexibility. It would be the task of a month to detail all the particulars of my numerous excursions, in every direction, from the river.

"Nothing adds more to the savage grandeur and picturesque effect of the scenery along the Ohio, than those miserable huts of human beings, lurking at the bottom of a gigantic growth of timber, that I have not seen equalled in any part of the United States; and it is truly amusing to observe, how dear and how familiar habit has rendered those privations, which must have been first the offspring of necessity. Yet none pride themselves more on their possessions. The inhabitants of these forlorn sheds will talk to you with pride of the richness of their soil, of the excellence and abundance of their country, of the healthiness of their climate, and the purity of their waters; while the only bread you find among them is of Indian corn, coarsely ground in a horse-mill, with half of the grains unbroken; even their cattle are destitute of stables and hay, and look like moving skeletons; their own houses worse than pig-sties; their clothes an assembly of rags; their faces yellow and lank with disease; and their persons covered with filth, and frequently garnished with the humours of the Scotch fiddle; from which dreadful disease, by the mercy of God, I have been most miraculously preserved. All this is the effect of laziness. The corn is thrown into the ground in the spring, and the pigs turned into the woods, where they multiply like rabbits. The labour of the squatter is now over till autumn, and he

spends the winter in eating pork, cabbage, and hoe-cakes. What a contrast to the neat farm, and snug cleanly habitation, of the industrious settler, that opens his green fields, his stately barns, gardens, and orchards, to the gladdened eye of the delighted spectator."

Arriving at the falls of the Ohio—

"The next day I sold my skiff for exactly half what it cost me ; and the man who bought it wondered why I gave it such a droll Indian name, (The Ornithologist) 'some old chief or warrior, I suppose,' said he."

His description of Lexington, as it appeared at that period, is by no means flattering.—

"The horses of Kentucky," he observes, "are the hardiest in the world, not so much by nature, as by education and habit. From the commencement of their existence, they are habituated to every extreme of starvation and gluttony, idleness and excessive fatigue. In summer they fare sumptuously every day. In winter, when not a blade of grass is to be seen, and when the crows have deprived them of the very bark and buds of every fallen tree, they are ridden into town, fifteen or twenty miles, through roads and sloughs that would become the graves of any common animal, with a fury and celerity incomprehensible by you folks on the other side of the Alleghany. They are then fastened to the posts on the sides of the streets, and around the public square, where hundreds of them might be seen hanging their heads from morning to night, in deep cogitation, ruminating perhaps on the long expected return of spring and green herbage. * * * Lexington, with all its faults, which a few years will gradually correct, is an honourable monument of the enterprise, courage, and industry of its inhabitants.

"Wherever you go, you hear people talking of buying and selling land ; no readers—all traders. The Yankees, wherever you find them, are all traders. I found one here, a house carpenter, who came from Massachusetts, and brought some barrels of apples down the river from Pennsylvania to this town, where he employs the Negro women to hawk them about the streets, at thirty-seven and a half cents per dozen.

"I was now (Danville) one hundred and eighty miles from Nashville, (Tennessee,) and I was informed, not a town or village on the whole route. Every day was, however, producing wonders in the woods, by the progress of vegetation. The blossoms of the sassafras, dog-wood, and red-bud, contrasted with the deep green of the poplar and buckeye, enriched the scenery on every side ; while the voices of the feathered tribes, many of which were to me new and unknown, were continually engaging me in the pursuit. Emerging from the deep solitude of the forest, the rich green of the grain fields, the farm house and cabins embosomed amidst orchards of glowing purple and white, gave the sweetest relief to the eye. Not far from the foot of a high mountain, called Mulder's-hill, I overtook one of those family caravans, so common in this country, moving to the westward. The procession occupied a length of road, and had a formidable appearance, though, as I afterwards understood, it was composed of the individuals of only a single family. In the front went a wagon, drawn by four horses, driven by a negro, and filled with implements of agriculture ; another heavy loaded wagon, with six horses, followed, attended by two persons ; after which came a numerous and mingled group of horses, steers, cows, sheep, hogs, and calves, with their bells ; next followed eight boys, mounted double, also a negro wench with a white child before her ; then the mother, with one child behind her, and another at the breast ; ten or twelve colts brought up the rear, now and then picking herbage, and trotting ahead. The father, a fresh, good looking man, informed me, that he was from Washington county, in Kentucky, and was going as far as Cumberland river ; he had two ropes fixed to the top of the wagon, one of which he guided himself, and the other was intrusted to his eldest son, to keep it from oversetting in ascending the mountain. The singular appearance of this moving group, the mingled music of the bells, and the shoutings of the drivers, mixed with the echoes of the mountains, joined to the pic-

turesque solitude of the place, and various reflections that hurried through my mind, interested me greatly; and I kept company with them for some time, to lend my assistance if necessary.—The country now became mountainous, perpetually ascending and descending; and about forty-nine miles from Danville, I passed through a pigeon roost, or rather breeding place, which continued for three miles, and, from information, extended in length for more than forty miles. The timber was chiefly beech; every tree was loaded with nests, and I counted, in different places, more than ninety nests on a single tree.

"April 25. Breakfasted at Walton's, thirteen miles from Nashville. The hospitable landlord, *Isaac Walton*, upon setting out early the next morning, refused to take any thing for my fare, saying, '*You seem to be travelling for the good of the world, and I cannot—I will not charge you any thing,—whenever you come this way, call and stay with me, you shall be welcome.*' This is the first instance of such hospitality which I have met with in the United States."

Upon reading this note, our faith in the doctrine of Pythagoras grew strong. Can it be that the soul of that gentle parent of the angle, *old Isaac Walton*, in winging its terrestrial flight from the margin of the sea, found a kindred tenement in mine excellent host of Tennessee! We fear poor Wilson never luxuriated over the verdant pages of that golden book, "*The Complete Angler*," or he would have anticipated our passing tribute to its author. We too had, peradventure, died in ignorance, had it not been pointed out to us by the venerable author of the *Man of Feeling*, himself a brother of the gentle craft. We recall the era of the event as one of the greenest spots both in our literary and piscatory existence, and have ever since held it a settled maxim of our belief, in defiance of which we are ready to do battle, that no brother of the angle can by any possibility prove a recreant.

From Nashville he proceeded through the wilderness of the Chickasaws and Choctaws, to the town of Natchez, a distance of four hundred and seventy-eight miles. He arrived there on the 17th of May, after suffering the greatest hardships, and nearly perishing by a severe attack of the dysentery. We can only extract a few picturesque passages from some of his letters and journal, and then hasten to the conclusion of this article.

"This is the country of the Chickasaws, though erroneously laid down in some maps as that of the Cherokees. I slept this night in one of their huts; the Indians spread a deer skin for me on the floor, I made a pillow of my portmanteau, and slept tolerably well; an old Indian laid himself down near me. On Monday morning, I rode fifteen miles, and stopt at an Indian's to feed my horse. The sight of my parouquet brought the whole family around me. The women are generally naked, from the middle upwards; and their heads, in many instances, being rarely combed, look like a large mop; they have a yard or two of blue cloth wrapt round by way of petticoat, that reaches to their knees—the boys were generally naked; except a kind of bag of blue cloth by way of *fig-leaf*. Some of the women have a short jacket, with the sleeves, drawn over their naked body, and a rag of a blanket is a general appendage.—I met to-day two officers of the United States army, who gave me a better account of the road than I had received. I passed through many bad swamps to-day; and about five in the evening came to the banks of the Tennessee, which was swelled by the rains, and is about a half a mile wide thirty miles below the Muscle shoals, and just below a long island laid down in your small map. A growth of canes of

twenty and thirty feet high covers the low bottoms ; and these cane swamps are the gloomiest and most desolate looking places imaginable. I hailed for the boat as long as it was light, without effect ; I then sought out a place to encamp, kindled a large fire, stript the canes from my horse, eat a bit of supper, and laid down to sleep ; listening to the owls, and the *chuck-wills-widow*, a kind of *whip-poor-will*, that is very numerous here.—I got up several times during the night to recruit my fire, and see how my horse did ; and but for the gnats, would have slept tolerably well. These gigantic woods have a singular effect by the light of a large fire ; the whole scene being circumscribed by impenetrable darkness, except that in front, where every leaf is strongly defined, and deeply shaded.—In the morning I hunted until six, when I again renewed my shoutings for the boat, and it was not until near eleven that it made its appearance. I was so enraged at the delay, that, had I not been cumbered with baggage, I believe I should have ventured to swim the river. I vented my indignation on the owner of the boat, who was a half breed, threatening to punish him, and advise every traveller I met to take the upper ferry. * * * The country now assumed a new appearance ; no brush wood, or fallen timber ; one could see a mile through the woods, which were covered with high grass fit for mowing. These woods are burnt every spring, and thus are kept so remarkably clean that they look like the most elegant noblemen's parks. A profusion of flowers, altogether new to me, and some of them very elegant, presented themselves to my view as I rode along. This must be a heavenly place for the botanist. The most observable of these flowers was a kind of sweet-william, of all tints, from white to the deepest crimson ; a superb thistle, the most beautiful that I had ever seen ; a species of passion flower, very beautiful ; a stately plant of the sun-flower, the bottom of the deepest orange, and the radiating petals bright earmine, the breadth about four inches ; a large white flower, like a deer's tail ; great quantities of the sensitive plant, that shrunk instantly on being touched, covered the ground in some places. Almost every flower was new to me, except the Carolina pink-root and Columbo, which grew in abundance on every side. At Bear creek, which is a large and rapid stream, I first observed the Indian boys with their *blow-guns*. These are tubes of cane, seven feet long, and perfectly straight, when well made. The arrows are made of slender slips of cane, twisted and straightened before the fire, and covered for several inches, at one end, with the down of thistles, in a spiral form, so as just to enter the tube. By a puff, they can send these with such violence, as to enter the body of a partridge, twenty yards off. I set several of them a hunting birds, by promises of reward, but not one of them could succeed. I also tried some of the blow-guns myself, but found them generally defective in straightness.—I met six parties of boatmen to-day, and many straggling Indians, and encamped about sun-set, near a small brook, where I shot a turkey ; and on returning to my fire found four boatmen, who stayed by me all night, and helped to pick the bones of the turkey. In the morning, I heard the turkeys gobbling all around me, but not wishing to leave my horse, having no great faith in my guests' honesty, I proceeded on the journey. This day, Wednesday, I passed through the most horrid swamps I had ever seen. These are covered with a prodigious growth of canes, and high woods, which, together, shut out almost the whole light of day from my eyes for miles. The banks of the deep and sluggish creeks, that occupy the centre, are precipitous, where I had often to plunge my horse seven feet down, into a bed of deep clay, up to his belly ; from which nothing but great strength and exertion could have rescued him ; the opposite shore was equally bad, and beggars all description. For an extent of several miles, on both sides of these creeks, the darkness of night obscures every object around. On emerging from one of the worst of these, I met General Wade Hampton, with two servants, and a pack-horse, going, as he said, towards Nashville. * * * About half an hour before sun-set, being within sight of the Indian's where I intended to lodge, the evening being perfectly clear and calm, I laid the reins on my horse's neck, to listen to a mocking-bird, the first I had heard in the western country, which, perched on the top of a dead tree before the door, was pouring out a torrent of melody. I think I never heard so excellent a performer. I had alighted, and was fastening my

horse, when hearing the report of a rifle immediately beside me, I looked up and saw the poor mocking-bird fluttering to the ground. One of the savages had marked his elevation, and barbarously shot him. I hastened over into the yard, and walking up to him, told him that was bad, very bad! That this poor bird had come from a far-distant country to sing to him, and that in return he had cruelly killed him. I told him, the Great Spirit was offended with such cruelty, and that he would lose many a deer for doing so. The old Indian, father-in-law to the bird-killer, understanding by the negro interpreter what I said, replied, that when these birds come singing and making a noise all day near the house, *somebody will surely die*,—which is exactly what an old superstitious German, near Hampton, in Virginia, once told me. This fellow had married the two eldest daughters of the old Indian, and presented one of them with the bird he had killed. On the fourteenth day of my journey, at noon, I arrived at this place, having overcome every obstacle, alone, and without being acquainted with the country; and what surprised the boatmen more, without whiskey. . . . The Chickasaws are a friendly, inoffensive people; and the Choctaws, though more reserved, are equally harmless. Both of them treated me with civility, though I several times had occasion to pass through their camps, where many of them were drunk. The paroquet which I carried with me, was a continual fund of amusement to all ages of these people; and as they crowded around to look at it, gave me an opportunity of studying their physiognomies, without breach of good manners."

On the 6th of June he reached New-Orleans, and arrived on the 30th of July at New-York, and returned to Philadelphia enriched with a stock of new materials for his work, including several beautiful and undescribed birds.

The publication of the Ornithology now advanced as rapidly as a due regard to correctness and elegance would permit. In order to become better acquainted with the migrations, manners, and habits of birds, he resided the greater part of the years 1811 and 1812, in the retirement of his friend Mr. Bartram's botanic garden. Here, removed from the bustle and interruption of the city, he was enabled to dispose of his time to the best advantage: when fatigued with his studies within, he had only to cross the threshold of his abode in order to recreate his mind by the observation and enjoyment of multitudes of the feathered creation, in whose society he was always happy.

The seventh volume was published in the spring of 1813; soon after, he set out on his last expedition, to Great Egg-harbour, in company with his friend, Mr. George Ord, where they remained for nearly four weeks, constantly occupied in collecting materials for the eighth volume, which, he resolved, should, if possible, excel the others, both in the value of its materials and the beauty of its embellishments. Immediately on his return to Philadelphia, he engaged anew in his arduous avocations, and by the month of August, he had completed the letter press of the eighth volume, though the whole of the plates were not finished. But, unfortunately, his great anxiety to conclude the work, condemned his mind to an excess of toil, beyond the strength of his constitution. He was prevented from residing in the country, where hours of mental lassitude might have been

beguiled by a rural walk, and the invigorating exercise of the gun. At length he was attacked by the dysentery, a disease, which, perhaps, at any other period of his life, might not have been attended with fatal consequences, but which, in the present debilitated state of his mind and body, hurried him, in the course of ten days, to a premature grave. He closed his mortal career on the 23d day of August, 1813, having just before completed his forty-seventh year.

In this imperfect sketch, we have endeavoured to let him tell his own story of the difficulties which his enthusiasm in the cause of science enabled him to overcome, even with the sacrifice of his life. Something remains to be added as to the character of this extraordinary man. He was eminently endowed by nature and by art, with the qualities of a great naturalist. His heart was purified, by his devotion to science, above all selfish or vulgar considerations. In his speculations, he indulged, not in points of delicate learning, nor in the conceits of theorists; his mind was vigorous and inquisitive, and he loved to study nature in her original creations, by tracking her footsteps and developing her mysteries, amidst the solemnity of the wilderness. He made himself a social companion of the feathered tribes, studied their domestic habits, instincts, modes of nidification, manner of flight, seasons of migration, song, and favourite food, and seemed by intuition to pry into, and interpret their language and dispositions. His descriptions are full of individuality, presenting objects so distinctly and minutely to our minds, that we wonder they had previously escaped our attention and admiration. We look with astonishment at the magnitude of his labours: at a period when our advancement in the arts was next to nothing, he found means, by the exertion of his own unaided energies, to produce a work which would have done honour to Europe. Had his life been spared, it was his intention to execute a work upon a similar plan, upon the Zoology of America.

His personal character is drawn with candour and discrimination by his friend, Mr. Ord.—

"Wilson, (he observes) was possessed with the nicest sense of honour. In all his dealings, he was not only scrupulously just, but highly generous. His veneration for truth was exemplary. His disposition was social and affectionate. His benevolence was extensive. He was remarkably temperate in eating and drinking; his love of study and retirement preserving him from the contaminating influence of the convivial circle. But as no one is perfect, Wilson, in a small degree, partook of the weakness of humanity. He was of the *genus irritabile*, and was obstinate in opinion. It ever gave him pleasure to acknowledge error, when the conviction resulted from his own judgment alone, but he could not endure to be told of his mistakes. Hence, his associates had to be sparing of their criticisms, through a fear of forfeiting his friendship. With almost all his friends, he had, occasionally, arising from a collision of opinion, some slight misunderstanding, which was soon passed over, leaving no disagreeable impression. But an act of disrespect he could ill brook, and a wilful injury he would seldom forgive.

"In his person he was of a middle stature, of a thin habit of body; his cheek-

bones projected, and his eyes, though hollow, displayed considerable vivacity and intelligence; his complexion was sallow, his mien thoughtful; his features were coarse, and there was a dash of vulgarity in his physiognomy, which struck the observer at the first view, but which failed to impress one on acquaintance. His walk was quick when travelling; so much so, that it was difficult for a companion to keep pace with him; but when in the forests, in pursuit of birds, he was deliberate and attentive—he was, as it were, all eyes, and all ears."

We have only space left to say, that the present edition of "The American Ornithology" is in many respects superior to the original work, and is, moreover, afforded at the reasonable price of forty dollars. "Mr. Ord has added many valuable notes; he has permitted the birds contained in his supplementary volume to be incorporated with, and his sketch of the life of Wilson to be prefixed to the work." The letter press is beautifully printed in three large octavo volumes; the plates are published in volumes of the original quarto size.

ART. VI.—LONGEVITY.

- 1.—*L'Art de prolonger la vie de l'homme*, par C. F. HUFELAND, Premier Médecin et Conseiller de S. M. le Roi de Prusse, &c. &c. traduit de l'Allemand, sur la seconde Edition: par A. J. L. JOURDAN, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris, &c. Paris: 8vo. pp. 436.
- 2.—*Nouveaux Elémens d'hygiène, rédigés suivant les principes de la nouvelle Doctrine médicale*, par CHARLES LONDE, D. M. P. &c. &c. Paris: 1827. Tom. 2. pp. 382 & 484.
- 3.—*The Journal of Health, conducted by an Association of Physicians*. Vol. I. pp. 374: and 3 numbers of the second volume. Philadelphia: 1830.

THE subject of Hygiène is one of all-absorbing interest. It embraces that portion of medical science, the object of which is the preservation of health, and necessarily includes a full acquaintance with man, in his solitary and social condition. It forms an instructive part of his natural history.

On every other branch of medicine, the trust of the community is placed implicitly in the dicta of the physician, as one, who, by observation and course of study, must have necessarily become better acquainted with the subject: but on this point he does not always command entire deference and submission. Each person fancies that individual experience has given him some right to form a judgment; and to this part of medicine alone, can the old maxim have been considered applicable, "that every man is a fool or his own physician at forty." By that age, it has

been imagined, he must of necessity have gained some knowledge of those things which are wholesome or noxious to his frame, and that so far he must have become instructed in hygiene.

The attractive nature of the subject has given occasion to the many idle and extravagant proposals which have been made, from time to time, for the preservation of health, and the attainment of longevity. The ancient Egyptians, for example, believed that the only requisites were, to take an emetic twice a month, and to excite free perspirations; and instead of the ordinary salutation with us—"how do you do?" their's was—"how do you sweat?" The Greeks were more rational. They conceived that the surest means for augmenting the vital energy, was the temperate enjoyment of every thing surrounding them, with proper exercise. With them originated the *gymnastic art*. The hygienic rules, too, proposed by Plutarch, are, notwithstanding all our arrogance, as applicable to our present state of existence as to that of the ancients. They are "to keep the head cool and the feet warm"—a maxim yet in vogue; and, "when we are slightly indisposed, to *fast* a day, rather than have immediate recourse to medicine."

One part of the *Τηρονομική*—or the art of preserving the health of old people—with the nations of antiquity, deserves notice from its prevalence. We mean that of placing one, exhausted by age, in the atmosphere of a body in the vigour of existence. The case of King David* shows that the superstition was common with the Hebrews; and numerous instances, in different writers, prove, that it existed through the middle ages. So late even as the period of Boerhaave it was not extinct. We find, indeed, that great teacher himself imbued with it. He directed an aged burgomaster of Amsterdam to sleep between two young people, and he asserts that the strength and vivacity of the old man were much improved by it! A result, easily explained by the warmth afforded to a body, whose powers of secreting animal heat, sufficient for its comfort, had been impaired by age, but absurd if we look upon it as owing to any renovating power in the youthful breath: yet Hufeland, in the work before us, is manifestly disposed to ascribe such influence to it. "We find," says he, "amongst those who had devoted themselves to the education of youth, many men, who attained an advanced age, which might induce a belief, that a constant intercourse with young people, contributes to a certain extent to renovate us and prolong our existence." p. 98.

It was, however, in the middle ages, during that time of intellectual dearth, that the greatest number of expedients was in-

* I Kings, chap. i.

vented for the preservation of health ; and that the alchemists directed all their endeavours to discover a universal medicine—one that would be equally applicable to any derangement of the human frame. During this dark period, the alchemist, astrologer, and magician, vied with each other in exerting their skill for the discovery of means to prevent disease and prolong life ; and numerous amulets, panaceas, and sympathies were proposed, which have gradually disappeared, but been resuscitated under new forms, until the present time. And thus, it is to be feared, will it ever be. No one can be indifferent to bodily comfort,—

“ Without whose cheerful, active energy,
No rapture swells the breast, no poet sings.”

Even he who is prepared to leave this world at any moment, when the author of his existence may call him, is anxious that the period allotted him should be spent in health and tranquillity : still more he who is addicted to sensual gratifications—whose whole happiness consists in living whilst he does live. To him bodily comfort is felt to be of the highest value. Without it his enjoyments are vapid and null. It is the universal interest of hygiene, that occasions the avidity for essays on the subject, as well as on every thing appertaining to it. We can hence understand why works on digestion meet with the greatest sale, and why the subject should be chosen by many, whose motives have been mercenary rather than philanthropic, and who have discovered that to excite the alarms of mankind, may be converted to a profitable purpose. These remarks do not of course apply to all the works which have recently emanated from the press upon this topic, but they are strongly applicable to many. We could refer to some where the improvement of science has been the object of the authors ; to others which have originated in the desire to turn to profit the natural credulity of mankind, by arousing them to a sense of danger which does not exist, and rendering their doctrines subservient to other and more selfish purposes. It is to this credulity that we owe many ephemeral and periodical productions which have fluttered for a while on the stage, and subsequently sunk into that insignificance, above which they ought never to have risen. All that is necessary is to excite the fears of the reader :—to conjure up a phantom, founded on the reputed baneful effects of this or that custom or article of dietetics, or on the dangerous character of this or that symptom :—to become, in other words, a medical *terrorist*. If the alarm excited be sufficient, the work or the individual, whichever it may be, will be certainly followed. Were such an essay to inform one of weak nerves that a certain catenation of symptoms in his person indicates a disease of the liver, it matters not that the whole may be grossly erroneous,

the individual concerned will believe it, and have recourse to the prescribed remedies; notwithstanding he may be assured by those, in whom he should place confidence, that such disease does not exist: so much more ready are we to credit those who pronounce that a morbid condition is present, than those who assure us it is not.

The whole history of the success of quack medicines rests upon this tendency of the mind of man—a tendency which no experience can obviate. Although we might suppose that the instances on record, in which remedies and appliances, high in vogue for a time, have subsequently sunk into utter neglect, might, in some measure, correct this disposition, it is too true that it has not; and that we are as ready to follow the hardy empiric, because he asserts that he can cure an affection under which we may labour, as ready to have recourse to “panaceas,” as our ancestors were in the times of Von Helmont and Paracelsus.

The celebrated remedy of Mrs. Stephens, for the stone, which excited so much attention as to be purchased by the British parliament for several thousand pounds, and which was found to consist of lime, produced by calcining the shells of eggs and snails, and made into pills with soap, has now “fallen from its high estate,” and is scarcely even recorded in the dictionaries. But a still more remarkable and instructive case is of comparatively recent occurrence, and is familiar to all—that of the “metallic tractors” of Perkins; in testimony of whose efficacy hundreds, nay thousands, of cases were adduced, institutions established, and considerable sums of money expended. Yet tractors and institutions have disappeared, and every one engaged in the transaction has been anxious to wash his hands of the stigma justly attached to it. Still, mankind are ready to act the farce over again, should it appear under a new form:—

“The tractors, galvanism and gas,
In turns appear to make the vulgar stare,
Till the swoln bubble bursts and all is air.”

At this very moment we have before us a late English newspaper, containing the details of an inquest, held on a young lady, previously in perfect health, who had been destroyed by an ulcer on the back, instituted by an unprincipled and uneducated empiric, who has been for some time professing to prevent and to cure consumption by a new method; and who, by dint of advertisements and effrontery, has succeeded in attracting the sick of all classes. The respectable medical gentlemen who examined the body, declared “that it was a perfectly healthful subject, beautiful in form, and free from all disease, save that occasioned by the wound in the back.” Yet, notwithstanding this conclusive evidence, a lady of high rank declared, at the same inquest,

vented for the preservation of health ; and that the alchemists directed all their endeavours to discover a universal medicine—one that would be equally applicable to any derangement of the human frame. During this dark period, the alchemist, astrologer, and magician, vied with each other in exerting their skill for the discovery of means to prevent disease and prolong life ; and numerous amulets, panaceas, and sympathies were proposed, which have gradually disappeared, but been resuscitated under new forms, until the present time. And thus, it is to be feared, will it ever be. No one can be indifferent to bodily comfort,—

“ Without whose cheerful, active energy,
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Even he who is prepared to leave this world at any moment, when the author of his existence may call him, is anxious that the period allotted him should be spent in health and tranquillity : still more he who is addicted to sensual gratifications—whose whole happiness consists in living whilst he does live. To him bodily comfort is felt to be of the highest value. Without it his enjoyments are vapid and null. It is the universal interest of hygiene, that occasions the avidity for essays on the subject, as well as on every thing appertaining to it. We can hence understand why works on digestion meet with the greatest sale, and why the subject should be chosen by many, whose motives have been mercenary rather than philanthropic, and who have discovered that to excite the alarms of mankind, may be converted to a profitable purpose. These remarks do not of course apply to all the works which have recently emanated from the press upon this topic, but they are strongly applicable to many. We could refer to some where the improvement of science has been the object of the authors ; to others which have originated in the desire to turn to profit the natural credulity of mankind, by arousing them to a sense of danger which does not exist, and rendering their doctrines subservient to other and more selfish purposes. It is to this credulity that we owe many ephemeral and periodical productions which have fluttered for a while on the stage, and subsequently sunk into that insignificance, above which they ought never to have risen. All that is necessary is to excite the fears of the reader :—to conjure up a phantom, founded on the reputed baneful effects of this or that custom or article of dietetics, or on the dangerous character of this or that symptom :—to become, in other words, a medical *terrorist*. If the alarm excited be sufficient, the work or the individual, whichever it may be, will be certainly followed. Were such an essay to inform one of weak nerves that a certain catenation of symptoms in his person indicates a disease of the liver, it matters not that the whole may be grossly erroneous,

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that she had faith enough still to send her children to the ignorant pretender, and "hoped that her eldest daughter would go to him on the following day."

It would be obviously impracticable for us to give a view of all the matters connected with the subject of the works at the head of this article. Public and private hygiene embrace a multitude of subjects, and each has occupied volumes. There are some topics, however, touched upon in them, and some doctrines contained, especially in the last of them, which, as they seem to us to be neither philosophical in theory, nor accurate in fact, we shall, amongst other matters, briefly canvass.

If we leave out of the calculation the antediluvian periods, respecting the chronology of which, the most reflecting and orthodox historians have differed, we have the strongest evidence that the duration of life is much the same as it has ever been. Of the ordinary longevity, 4000 years ago, we have undisputed testimony in the oldest historian whose works are extant. Moses writes :—

"The days of our years are threescore and ten ; and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow, for it is soon cut off, and we fly away." Ps. xc.

David lived 500 years later than Moses. When Barzillai excused himself for not visiting the royal palace at Jerusalem, he observed to the king :—

"I am this day fourscore years old, and can I discern between good and evil ? Can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink ? Can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women ? Wherefore, then, should thy servant be yet a burden unto my Lord the King?"

A more accurate *autographic* representation of the feelings of an octogenarian of the present day, could scarcely have been presented.

Hufeland, in the work before us, has collected, from Lucian and various other sources, a catalogue of cases of longevity in both ancient and modern times, from which we learn, that with the Greeks, Solon lived 80 years, Epimenides of Crete 157, Anacreon, Sophocles, and Pindar 80, Gorgias of Leontium 108, Protagoras of Abdera 90, Socrates 90, Zeno 100, Democritus 109, Diogenes 90 ; and, with the Romans, Valerius Corvinus 100, Orbilius 100, Fabius, surnamed the Temporizer, 90, Cato 90, Terentia, wife of Cicero, 103, and the Empress Livia 90 years, &c. &c. pp. 89, 90.

Pliny affords some valuable statistical information, if accurate, regarding the period at which he lived, obtained from an official, and, apparently, authentic source—the census directed by the Emperor Vespasian, in the year of 76 of the Christian era. From this we learn, that at the time of the computation, there were, in the part of Italy comprised between the Apen-

nines and the Po, 124 individuals aged 100 years and upwards, viz. 54 of 100 years, 57 of 110, 2 of 125, 4 of 130, 4 of 135 to 137, and 3 of 140. At Parma, a man was living aged 120, and two aged 130; at Faenza, a female aged 132; and, at a small town near Placentia, called Velleiacium, lived 6 persons aged 110 each, and 4 aged 120.

These estimates, however, by no means accord with those of Ulpian, who seems to have taken especial pains to become acquainted with the facts of the case. His researches prove, that the expectation of life in Rome at that time, was much less than it now is in London, or in any of our cities. Hufeland, indeed, asserts, that the tables of Ulpian agree perfectly with those afforded by the great cities of Europe, and that they exhibit the probabilities of life in ancient Rome to have been like those of modern London, (p. 91,) but, in opposition to his opinion, we may quote some extremely pertinent and satisfactory remarks, by Dr. F. Bisset Hawkins, in a work on "*Medical Statistics*," published in the course of the past year.*—

"This earliest authority (Domitius Ulpianus), on the subject of longevity, was a lawyer, in the reign of Alexander Severus, of whom he became the secretary and principal minister. From the want of hospitals among the Romans, from the humble condition of their medical attendants, from their gross sensuality, inactive habits, abuse of the bath, and manner of dress, as well as from the unhealthy state of their situation, (which even then appears to have been a source of alarm,) we might have anticipated that longevity would not become common, and the authority of Ulpian corroborates the opinion. According to him, registers of population, puberty, age, sex, disease, and death, were kept with exactness by the censors, from the time of Servius Tullius to Justinian, and comprehend a period of ten consecutive centuries. But, unfortunately, these registers embrace the citizens of Rome alone, and not that large part of the population composed of slaves. The inferences to be drawn from them relate, accordingly, to select or *picked* lives, and not to the mass of society. From observations formed on 1000 years, the expectation, or mean term of Roman life, has been fixed at 30 years. To make a just comparison of the value of life in Rome and in England, we must select subjects in England similarly circumstanced, of a condition relatively easy, and the result discloses an extension of life remarkably in our favour. Mr. Finlayson has ascertained, from very extensive observation on the decrement of life prevailing among the nominees of the *Tontines*, and other life annuities granted by the authority of parliament, during the last forty years, that the expectation of life is above 50 years, for persons thus situated, which affords our easy classes a superiority of 20 years above the Roman citizen. The expectation of life, for the whole mass of Britain, is at least 1 in 45, which affords to all our classes a superiority of 15 years above even the easy classes of the Romans. The mean term of life among the easy classes of Paris, is at present 42, which gives them an advantage of 12 years above the Romans."

In the third century of the Christian era, the expectation of life in Rome was as follows:—

From birth to 20, there was a probability of 30 years; from 20 to 25, of 28 years; from 25 to 30, 25 years; from 30 to 35,

* Elements of Medical Statistics, containing the substance of the Gulstonian Lectures, &c. &c. Lond. 1829. p. 7.

22 years, from 35 to 40, 20 years; from 40 to 45, 18 years; from 45 to 50, 13 years; from 50 to 55, 9 years; from 55 to 60, 7 years; from 60 to 65, 5 years. Farther than this the computation did not extend.

We shall see afterwards, from a table drawn up by Mr. Finlayson, who is designated by Sir Gilbert Blane as "one of the most able calculators of this age,"* how decidedly superior the value of life at those ages is at the present time.

The truth is, that on many points of chronology and statistics, connected with remote ages, we cannot place much reliance; and this remark applies forcibly to the estimates of the ages of individuals. In many cases, no two writers are in accordance, and we are frequently forced to the conclusion, that no dependence can be placed upon either.

In elucidation of this, we may quote the following passage from a recent number of the "*Journal of Health*," which we adduce for the further purpose of showing the blunders that may be perpetuated by faulty typography, if we may admit so favourable an apology, as well as the sophistry and misrepresentation, sometimes adopted, when the object is to inculcate a cherished opinion:—

"*Longevity of the Ancients.* The following list of long-lived persons among the ancients is introduced by Lucian, with the remark, that it may be useful, 'by showing that they who took the most care of their bodies and their minds, enjoyed the longest lives, accompanied with the best health.' Hippocrates lived 109 years; Empedocles, 109; Georgius, (Gorgias?) 107; Xenophilus, 105; Pythagoras, who, it is stated, never knew satiety, reached the age of 100; Zeno lived to 98, a stranger to disease, and never incommoded by a real indisposition; his life, we are told, was an example of sobriety and moderation; his manners were austere; and to his temperance and regularity he was indebted for the continual flow of health which he enjoyed. Laertius, when he lost his life, was 90; and Diogenes died when in his 90th year; Pyrrho, (Pyrrho?) remarkable for the command which he held over all his passions and his feelings, lived also 90 years. Josephus informs, that the age of the Jewish Recluses was almost invariably prolonged to 100 years; and this he accounts for, from their simple diet and mode of living."—Vol. ii. No. 2. for September, 1830.

It will scarcely be credited, that this list, said to be from Lucian, is an entire fiction—a creature of the imagination. Lucian† does introduce a list of those of various professions, who had attained long life amongst his predecessors, and with the remark ascribed to him; but the list itself in nowise resembles the one quoted. Neither Hippocrates, nor Empedocles, nor Pythagoras, nor Laertius, nor Pyrrho, nor Josephus, is once mentioned. The age of Gorgias is given as 108, and the Diogenes referred to by him, is not the Cynic of Sinope, but the Stoic, a native of Seleucia.‡

* Select Dissertations on several subjects of Medical Science.

† Macrobius, 2, 3, &c.

‡ Διογενής ο Σελευκεύς από Τίγριος, Στοικός φιλοσοφός.

So much for the accuracy of the data on which this "Association of Physicians" found their inferences.

In confirmation of the uncertainty that rests upon the ages of the sages and others of antiquity, let us compare the different statements regarding some of those referred to in the above extract. The Association state, it is to be presumed on some authority, that the age of Hippocrates, when he died, was 109 years; the generality of writers say, 99; or rather that he died in his 99th year. Xenophilus, the Pythagorean philosopher, is said to have lived 105 years; according to others, he died in his 170th year, a difference of 64 years! Zeno, the founder of the sect of the Stoicks, lived, we have seen, according to one estimate, 100 years; according to others, 97. The death of Diogenes, the Cynic, by some is placed in his 96th year; by others in his 90th; what reliance then can be put on these traditions? Yet, in his incautious zeal for the furtherance of the doctrines of ultra-temperance, the author of the *extract* from Lucian enthusiastically exclaims,—

"Contrasted with the above, are the names of the celebrated Gourmands, Apicius, Claudius, Nero, Vitellius, Heliogabalus, whose lives, and the manner of their (whose) death, make a fruitful commentary on the advantages of temperance over gluttony and riot."—*Ibid.*

The reader, uninstructed in ancient history, would of course presume from this remark, that the celebrated persons alluded to had died from disease brought on by their *gourmandise*, and so, we cannot but believe, the writer himself imagined. But no such thing. Every one of them experienced violent death. Into the question of the existence of such an individual as Apicius, and the period at which he lived, we entered, in an early number of this Review.* We there showed, that every thing connected with him is involved in obscurity, but that Seneca asserts he *destroyed himself*. Claudius was *poisoned* by his niece, and in the 63d year of his age. Nero *killed himself*, in his 32d year, and Vitellius was *put to death*, as well as Heliogabalus!

But even admitting the authenticity of those instances of longevity amongst the Greeks and Romans, we can adduce some that are equally and more extraordinary, amongst the moderns.

The Englishman, Parr, who was born in 1635, married when at the age of 120; retained his vigour till 140; and died at the age of 152, from plethora, it is said, induced by a change of diet. Harvey, the distinguished discoverer of the circulation of the blood, who dissected him, found no decay of any organ.†

Henry Jenkins, who died in Yorkshire, in 1670, is perhaps the greatest authentic instance of longevity. He lived 169 years.

* Vol. ii. p. 425.

† Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii. 1698.

Margaret Forster, a native of Cumberland, England, died in 1771, aged 136; and James Lawrence, a Scotchman, lived 140 years.

A Dane, of the name of Drakenberg, died in 1772, in his 147th year; and John Effingham (the French translation of Hufeland calls him Essingham) died in Cornwall, in 1757, aged 144.

Some cases of still later occurrence are given by Hufeland. In 1792, a soldier, named Mittelstedt, died in Prussia, at the age of 112. A man of the name of Kduper, died at Cologne, in the same year, who had attained a like age; and Joseph Sur-rington, a Norwegian, died at Bergen, in 1797, aged 160 years.*

The annals of our country furnish us with many instances of unusual longevity, but enough has been said to show, that the value of human life has gone on improving for ages, and that it has not diminished since the period of our first historical records. Blumenbach has asserted, that by an accurate examination of numerous bills of mortality, he has ascertained the fact, that a considerable "proportion" of Europeans reach their 84th year, whilst few exceed it. "*Memorable tamen quod plurimarum tabularum emortualium curata comparatione didici, satis multos proportionē senes Europæos annum ætatis octogesimum quartum attingere, paucos contra eum vivendo superare.*"† But we may go farther, and affirm, that within the last century, at least, the value of life has gone on progressively and rapidly improving.

The experience of our own country would exhibit the truth of this assertion, but the data are not readily attainable, if attainable at all. The census, established from time to time in England, affords us information of an unquestionable character. The first actual enumeration of the inhabitants, was made in the year 1801. It gave to England and Wales a population of 9,168,000, and a mortality of 204,434, or 1 in 44.8. The second was made in 1811. The population was then 10,502,900, and the mortality 1 in 50; and the third and last, which took place in 1821, gave an enumeration, according to Mr. Rickman, (who was appointed by the secretary of state for the home department, to digest and reduce into order the population returns, and by the privy council to arrange the parish register returns) of 12,218,500, and a mortality of 1 in 58.‡

In France, the annual deaths were, in 1781, 1 in 29; in 1802, 1 in 30; and in 1823, 1 in 40; and in Sweden, the mortality has decreased, from 1 in 35 (1755 to 1775) to 1 in 48.

* Hufeland, pp. 99 to 110.

† Institutiones Physiologicae, edit. 3tia. p. 553.

‡ Abstract of the Answers and Returns, made pursuant to an act passed in the 1st year of George IV. intituled "An Act for taking an Account of the Population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof, 1821."

A like improvement has taken place in the salubrity of towns, which have been termed "the sepulchres of the dead and the hospitals of the living." The annual mortality of London, in 1700, was 1 in 25; in 1751, 1 in 21; in 1801, and the four years preceding, 1 in 35; in 1811, 1 in 38; and in 1821, 1 in 40; the value of life having thus doubled in London within the last 80 years. In Paris, about the middle of the last century, the mortality was 1 in 25; at present, it is about 1 in 32; and it has been calculated, that in the fourteenth century, it was 1 in 16 or 17! Berlin has improved in salubrity, during the last 50 or 60 years, from 1 in 28 to 1 in 34. The mortality in Manchester was, about the middle of the last century, 1 in 25; in 1770, 1 in 28; forty years afterwards, in 1811, the annual deaths were surprisngly diminished to 1 in 44; and in 1821, they seem to have been still fewer, although the population has quadrupled within the 60 years, through which the deaths have so diminished.* In the middle of the last century, the mortality of Vienna was 1 in 20; it has not, however, improved in the same proportion as some of the other European cities: according to recent calculations it is, even now, 1 in 22½, or about twice the proportion of Philadelphia, Manchester, or Glasgow. This is ascribed to the faulty political and municipal arrangements, for which Austria is almost proverbial. One city only seems to have retrograded, owing also, perhaps, to declining commerce and political vicissitudes. In 1777, the ratio of the deaths of Amsterdam was 1 in 27, a period at which it was one of the healthiest and most prosperous cities of Europe. The deaths are now 1 in 24; and the city is one of the least healthy and flourishing seaports. At Geneva, good bills of mortality have been kept since 1560, and the results are in the highest degree gratifying to the philanthropist. It seems, that at the time of the Reformation, half the children born did not reach six years of age. In the seventeenth century, the probability of life was about 11½ years; in the eighteenth century, it increased to above 27 years. The probability of life, to a citizen of Geneva, has consequently become *five times* greater in the space of about 300 years.

The British Insurance offices afford us similar evidence, regarding the diminution of mortality.

It was found, in 1800, by Mr. Morgan, the actuary, that the deaths which had occurred among 83,000 persons, insured, during 30 years, in the London Equitable Society, were only in the proportion of 2 to 3 of what had been anticipated: that is,

Between the ages of 10 and 20 as 1 to 2

20 30 1 2

30 40 3 5

* Hawkins, p. 20.

Between the ages of	40 and 50	as	3 to 5
	50 60		5 7
	60 80		4 5

A fact which exhibits the immense profit that must be derived by such establishments, almost all of which are founded on old Northampton bills of mortality, and manifestly inapplicable to the present order of things.

The following Table, in which the laws of mortality, according to the Carlisle and Northampton bills, and the experience of the Equitable Society, are ranged in parallel columns, will show this more strikingly than words.*

Out of	Who attain the age of	There die before the age of	According to the		
			Carlisle Table.	Experience of the Equitable Society.	Northampton Table.
Persons.	Years.				
6460	10	20	370	309	618
6090	20	30	448	443	886
5642	30	40	567	579	965
5075	40	50	678	652	1086
4397	50	60	754	900	1260
3643	60	80	2690	2244	2805

Mr. Babbage, who, it need hardly be said, is one of the first mathematicians of the age; and who, as has been correctly remarked, is not merely an abstract calculator, spending his time in solving problems of transcendental geometry, constructing algebraic formulæ, or raising infinite series to the n^{th} power, but a man of general science and varied talent—has also pronounced the Northampton Tables to be “erroneous throughout a large part, in the proportion of 2 to 1!”†

It will be evident, indeed, that the annual premium, which was equitable at the commencement, even of the present century, must be far otherwise now.

Many years ago, Mr. Finlayson drew up the following Table, to exhibit the improvement in the value of life, that had taken place between two corresponding periods of the 17th and 18th centuries; and if it had been calculated for the year 1830, the results would have been still more remarkable, as vaccination has been introduced since the last of those periods, which, if pushed to the extent of exterminating the small-pox, Mr. Milne

* Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica. Vol. v. p. 554. Art. Mortality.

† In his Comparative View of the Various Institutions for the Assurance of Lives. London: 1826.

conceives, would diminish the mortality of 1 in 40, to 1 in 43.5, or nearly 9 per cent.*

Ages.	Mean duration of life, reckoning from		So that the increase of vitality is in the inverse ratio of 100 to
	1693	1789	
Years.	Years.	Years.	
5	41.05	51.20	125
10	38.93	48.28	124
20	31.91	41.33	130
30	27.57	36.09	131
40	22.67	29.70	131
50	17.31	22.57	130
60	12.29	15.52	126
70	7.44	10.39	140

An inquiry into the great circumstances that affect longevity, is an interesting and instructive topic. Were we to investigate the subject thoroughly, we should have to canvass the causes and nature of diseases. Such is not, however, our object. It will be confined to a notice of the great modifying influences on the health of communities.

One of the most extensive in its action, is that of situation or locality; and it is an influence extremely difficult to understand. It has been frequently affirmed, as a general truth, that the great difference of one country from another, in point of salubrity, consists in the greater or less proportion of that soil, which produces noxious effluvia. The comparative unhealthiness of low, swampy situations, is known to all. We have too many instances in our own country, and in every part of it, for any one to be ignorant of this. This unhealthiness is assigned, and, doubtless, with truth, to some emanation, of the nature of which we are ignorant, that takes place from such soils, and to which the names, *marsh-poison*, *marshy miasm*, and with the Italians, *malaria* and *aria cattiva* have been appropriated. It is the grand exciting cause of ague, remittent fever, &c. But we meet with these diseases in particular districts, far remote from marshes, and on elevated regions, where it is impossible to conceive that any such emanations could exist. In many parts of the Maremma district in Italy, intermittents prevail to a destructive extent in such elevations, and, as these are generally volcanic, it has been imagined, that although malaria ordinarily escapes from marshes, it may be the product of volcanic soils likewise. This is not solving the question. It is, indeed, one involved in much obscurity. The "*difficile rerum est cognoscere causas*," is particularly applicable to the causes of disease. They are often

* Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica. Art. Annuities.

inscrutable; but man is not satisfied with confessing his ignorance. A cause must be assigned, and this is often of the most whimsical and unsatisfactory character. We see the malaria, even in the vicinity of our own city, gradually invading situations where it was previously unknown. We see it encroaching upon parts of our coast, where it had never before appeared, driving the inhabitants from their possessions, and spreading terror and desolation through districts hitherto esteemed salubrious.

We observe it, also, dissipated by the exertions of human ingenuity, yet capriciously returning to the same haunts after the lapse of many years. The island of Portsea, in England, on which Portsmouth is situated, was entirely freed, several years ago, from ague, by draining; but within the last two or three years, there has been a return of the endemic, not only in the best drained places, but in localities where it had never been known within the memory of man.

The causes of these changes are utterly inappreciable; but that they depend upon an altered condition of the terrestrial emanations, or of the locality, seems obvious. On the whole subject of the causes of endemic disease our information is scanty—our deductions are often unwarrantable.

At all periods, the differences between nations, in point of salubrity and longevity, have been a topic of eager observation. The Hippemolgi, who lived on mare's milk, and were inhabitants of ancient Sarmatia, are described as the justest of men, and long-lived.*

The ancients had extravagant notions of the longevity of the Seres,—perhaps the Thibetans†—which they estimated at 300 years. Hufeland says, "Lucian attributes the great length of their lives to the quantity of water they drank." p. 88. Lucian seems doomed to be misquoted by writers on this subject. He expressly says, "some have ascribed their longevity to the climate, others to the soil, and others, again, to the food, for they say the whole nation are water drinkers."‡ Lucian, himself, gives no opinion on the subject. But, gravely asks the veteran Dietetician, (*Hufeland*), "was it tea that they used even at that period?" What an heretical question must this appear to the Association, who have vented their anathema against the use of this "strong water," this destructive, but certainly tardy *poison*.

The people about Mount Athos—the Athotes, and the Chaldeans, were also reputed to be long-lived, as well as the Macrobiani of Æthiopia, much of whose history is involved in fable.§

* Homer. *Iliad*. lib. xiii. 6.

† Mannert, *Geographie von Indien*, &c. Abtheilung i. s. 177.

‡ Macrobi. 5.

§ Heeren, *Ideen über die Politik*, &c. der alten welt. Zweiter Th. 1 Abtheil. p. 342.

The difference between the longevity of modern nations, rests upon more certain intelligence. Those which are the most distinguished are the Swedish, Norwegians, Danes, Russians, British, and Greeks. The French, Italians, Spanish, Germans, and Dutch, are decidedly less so. Germany always contains a number of old people, but few of a very advanced age. (*Hufeland*, p. 114.)

The most singular and inexplicable facts are, however, afforded by the last English *Population Abstract*, to which allusion has already been made, and from which we have compiled the following Table of the comparative mortality and longevity of the different counties of England and Wales.

The estimates may be occasionally erroneous; but as a comparative view, where the same system of enumeration and of parish-register abstracts was adopted throughout, they will afford a satisfactory approximation to the truth.

England.

COUNTIES.	MORTALITY.	LONGEVITY.	
		Proportion of those from 90 to 100 years old in 20,000.	Proportion of those 100 years old and upwards in 20,000.
	One burial to		
Bedford, - - -	62	6.71	0.23
Berks, - - -	58	11.46	0.48
Buckingham, - -	56	9.41	
Cambridge, - -	58	4.71	
Chester, - - -	55	9.53	0.15
Cornwall, - - -	71	10.09	0.32
Cumberland, - -	58	18.42	1.01
Derby, - - -	63	9.48	0.10
Devon, - - -	61	12.10	0.19
Dorset, - - -	66	18.72	
Durham, - - -	55	21.79	1.88
Essex, - - -	59	7.76	0.22
Gloucester, - -	64	10.55	0.25
Hereford, - - -	63	15.95	0.78
Hertford, - - -	58	5.94	0.32
Huntingdon, - -	63	8.35	
Kent, - - -	50	7.76	0.34
Lancaster, - - -	55	6.72	0.31
Leicester, - - -	59	7.23	0.35
Lincoln, - - -	62	11.11	0.36
Middlesex, - -	47	6.04	0.54
Monmouth, - -	70	17.46	0.87
Norfolk, - - -	61	14.21	0.48
Northampton, -	58	6.96	0.13
Northumberland, -	58	24.70	1.09
Nottingham, - -	58	8.70	
Oxford, - - -	61	10.66	0.16

England—continued.

COUNTIES.	MORTALITY.	LONGEVITY.	
		Proportion of those from 90 to 100 years old in 20,000.	Proportion of those 100 years old and upwards in 20,000.
	One burial to		
Rutland, - - -	62	13.00	
Salop, - - -	58	12.69	0.32
Somerset, - - -	63	9.64	0.06
Southampton, -	58	9.82	0.21
Stafford, - - -	56	10.30	0.37
Suffolk, - - -	67	11.45	0.15
Surrey, - - -	52	9.40	0.35
Sussex, - - -	72	6.87	0.19
Warwick, - - -	52	9.07	0.48
Westmoreland, -	58	10.09	0.39
Wilts, - - -	66	9.97	0.10
Worcester, - - -	56	10.13	0.51
York, East Riding,	57	8.60	0.42
York, North Riding,	63	20.48	0.83
York, West Riding,	61	7.43	0.09
Average, - - -	57	9.90	0.34

Wales.

Anglesey, - - -	83	9.58	
Brecon, - - -	67	21.44	1.40
Cardigan, - - -	70	14.49	1.03
Carmarthen, - - -	67	20.19	0.64
Carnarvon, - - -	69	16.92	0.34
Denbigh, - - -	62	21.53	
Flint, - - -	64	14.30	
Glamorgan, - - -	69	17.93	0.83
Merioneth, - - -	67	20.73	
Montgomery, - - -	65	14.81	0.35
Pembroke, - - -	83	26.88	1.51
Radnor, - - -	64	16.90	
Average, - - -	69	17.97	0.50

From these tables it appears, that the annual mortality of England and Wales is 58, and that there is a surprising difference in the mortality of the different counties, varying from 1 in 47 (Middlesex) to 1 in 83 (Anglesey and Pembroke.)

Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Warwick, have the greatest proportional number of deaths. Sussex in England, and Anglesey and Pembroke in Wales, the fewest. The two last counties have the lowest rate of mortality that has been known in Europe, or perhaps in the world.

In England, the counties most favourable to longevity, are Durham, Northumberland, and the North Riding of Yorkshire; in Wales, Pembroke, Denbigh, Brecon, Merioneth, and Carmarthen; and in Scotland—it would appear from the same census, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Argyle, Dumbarton, Aberdeen, and Elgin, are distinguished; all these are mountainous districts.

That Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Warwick, have the greatest mortality, is manifestly owing to London and its suburbs being situated in the three first, Birmingham in the last.

According to Dr. Hawkins, who asserts that his information has been obtained from “instructive returns from nearly all the counties, cities, and hospitals on the continent,” the average mortality of the Pays du Vaud, is 1 in 49; of Sweden and Holland, 1 in 48; of Russia, 1 in 41; of France, 1 in 40; of Austria, 1 in 38; of Prussia and Naples, 1 in 33 to 35; and of South America, 1 in 30. The same rate of mortality as that of France, is given to the United States. We know not upon what authority. There can, indeed, be none. Our census has hitherto been deficient in that instructive piece of information. A recent writer, on as little foundation, estimates the proportion of deaths at 1 in 50.*

We have said, that the great mortality in Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Warwickshire, is owing to their being the seat of great towns. These may, indeed, be regarded as “the graves of mankind.” Even now, when, by well adapted regulations, their salubrity has been astonishingly augmented, the mortality is much greater than in the rural districts.

The following is the annual mortality of some of the chief cities of Europe and this country.

Philadelphia,	- - - - -	1 in 45.68†
Glasgow,	- - - - -	1 in 44
Manchester,	- - - - -	1 in 44
Geneva,	- - - - -	1 in 43
Boston,	- - - - -	1 in 41.26†
London,	- - - - -	1 in 40
New-York,	- - - - -	1 in 37.83†
St. Petersburg,	- - - - -	1 in 37
Charleston,	- - - - -	1 in 36.50
Baltimore,	- - - - -	1 in 35.44†
Leghorn,	- - - - -	1 in 35
Berlin,	- - - - -	1 in 34
Paris, Lyons, Strasburgh, and Barcelona,	- - - - -	1 in 32

* The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1830, p. 126.

† Journal of Health, p. 271.

Nice and Palermo,	- - - - -	1 in 31
Madrid,	- - - - -	1 in 29
Naples,	- - - - -	1 in 28
Brussels,	- - - - -	1 in 26
Rome,	- - - - -	1 in 25
Amsterdam,	- - - - -	1 in 24
Vienna,	- - - - -	1 in 22½

Yet Nice, Naples, and Leghorn, are selected as the places to which invalids should be sent from the more salubrious regions of Britain.

Such are a few of the many facts which exhibit the powerful influence that country or locality exerts upon human health. We have said, that the mode in which this agency is exerted, cannot be appreciated. It is owing to similar influences with those that occasion goitre in the Valais, and endemic fever in the West Indies, which develop a widely spreading pestilence at times in the most salubrious districts, and cause the general salubrity of such districts. It would have to be estimated by the same process of investigation, which would indicate to us why marshy districts produce ague; why the same districts, when drained, give rise to an increase in the number of consumptive cases; and why, as in the instance of Portsea, to which we have alluded, these same districts, still continuing drained, experience a recurrence of ague after the lapse of a considerable time: why, again, consumption is unknown in the torrid zone, and acute diseases scarcely ever experienced in Australia. How are we to account for the great difference in the mortality of counties situated so near to each other as some of those in England and Wales, and for the surprising preponderance of Wales in point of salubrity? It cannot be presumed that the Cambrians are better acquainted with the means of preserving health than their neighbours; or that, even if better acquainted, they are less prone to commit those excesses, which have been considered detrimental to health.

We may conclude, then, that a great and ever-acting cause of the difference in salubrity of countries, is seated in the locality itself; that is, in the soil that forms it, and the air that circulates above it; and although we may be able to modify the condition of the former, and improve the circulation of the latter, we can rarely succeed in annihilating either of those influences.

But how are we to explain this excessive difference between the mortality of the town and that of the country? The probability seems to be, that it is chiefly owing to the confined and deteriorated atmosphere of the town, acting in a manner *directly* unfavourable to human life; in other words, as a deleterious agent—a morbid poison. The evidence in favour of this view of the subject, is the astonishing mortality of children under five

years of age. The bills of mortality of London cannot be depended upon as registers of individual diseases, but they may, perhaps, of ages.

In the following Table, for the year ending December the 15th, 1829, the proportion at different periods of life is stated. The whole number of deaths amounted to 23,525. Of these there died—

		per cent.	
Under	2 years	6710	or 28.52
Between	2 and 5	2347	or 9.97
	5 and 10	1019	or 4.33
	10 and 20	949	or 4.03
	20 and 30	1563	or 6.64
	30 and 40	1902	or 8.08
	40 and 50	2093	or 8.89
	50 and 60	2094	or 8.89
	60 and 70	2153	or 9.15
	70 and 80	1843	or 7.83
	80 and 90	749	or 3.18
	90 and 100	95	or 0.40
	101	1	or 0.0042
	108	2	or 0.0084

Of these 23,525 there died, consequently, 9057, or about 38.5 per cent. under five years of age. Yet great as this proportion is, it was much more considerable at the commencement of the last century.

In Paris, during the year 1818, the number of deaths amounted to 22,421, whereof 3942, or 17.58 per cent. were children under the age of one year; and 5576 or 24.86 per cent. died before the expiration of the second year.

In Philadelphia, during a period of 20 years, ending January 1st, 1827, the proportion of deaths of children, under a year old, to the whole number, is rather more than a 5th; and of those from birth to 2 years, rather less than a 3d. The deaths of children under 2 years of age, are as 1 to 11. (*Journal of Health*, pp. 95, 96).

On the average of 8 years, from 1807 to 1814, inclusive, there died, annually, within the city of Philadelphia and the Liberties, the following proportion of persons, of different ages, compared with the total number of deaths.*

		per cent.	
Under	1 year	- -	25.07
From	1 to 2 years	- -	10.71
	2 to 5	- -	5.67
	5 to 10	- -	3.00
	10 to 20	- -	3.60
	20 to 30	- -	8.63

* Seybert's Statistical Annals, p. 50.

From			per cent.
30 to 40 years	-	-	10.99
40 to 50	-	-	7.98
50 to 60	-	-	5.95
60 to 70	-	-	4.29
70 to 80	-	-	3.27
80 to 90	-	-	1.89
90 to 100	-	-	0.50
100 to 110	-	-	0.0009

The cholera of infants is, as is well known, the scourge of our cities during the summer months, whilst in country situations it is comparatively rare. Dr. Rush, indeed, has asserted that he never knew but one instance of an infant being affected with the disease, who had been carried into the country to avoid it; and it is always found to prevail most in crowded alleys, and in the filthiest and impurest habitations.

It would seem, indeed, that the young of the human species, and even of the animal creation, absolutely require the respiration of pure air, otherwise they are apt to perish. Dr. Hawkins alludes to some curious experiments on animals, by Jenner, and to others performed very recently by Dr. Baron, "which indicate, that a loss of their open range and natural nourishment, has with them, also, a tendency to disorganize and to destroy."

Dr. Baron placed a family of young rabbits in a confined situation, and fed them with coarse green food, such as cabbage and grass. They were perfectly healthy when put up; in about a month one of them died: the primary step of disorganization was evinced by a number of transparent vesicles studded over the external surface of its liver. In another, which died nine days after, the disease had advanced to the formation of tubercles on the liver. The liver of a third, which died four days later still, had nearly lost its true structure, so universally was it pervaded with tubercles. Two days subsequently, a fourth died; a considerable number of hydatids was attached to the lower surface of the liver. At this time, Dr. Baron removed three young rabbits from the place where their companions had died, to another situation, dry and clean, and to their proper and accustomed food. The lives of these remaining three were obviously saved by this change. He obtained similar results, from experiments of the same nature, performed on other animals.

"Between 20 and 50," says the author to whom we have referred,* "many more die in London on account of the large annual influx from the country. In all cities, a large portion of disease and death is to be assigned to the constant importation from the country of individuals who have attained to maturity; but having been previously habituated to frequent exercise, in a pure atmosphere,

* Hawkins, p. 55.

and to a simple, regular diet, are gradually sacrificed to confined air, sedentary habits, or a capricious and over-stimulating food."

We are of opinion that too much weight has been given to this influx from the country, and to the causes assigned for a greater mortality between the ages of 20 and 50. The mortality will, in fact, be found every where in a similar ratio to that exhibited in the London bills at those ages. It is the great period for consumption, a disease so fatal in the temperate regions of the globe, and for apoplexy. Besides, we firmly believe, that if accurate information could be obtained, the majority of residents from the country arrived under 20 years of age. The shops, warehouses, merchants' offices, &c., are almost all supplied in London by importation, and in all these cases they prefer youths under that age, in order that they may have them under their own training. The purity of the atmosphere is certainly wanting, and so far there is a detrimental influence exerted; but there are few cases in which exercise may not be indulged, and in many avocations more is actually taken than in the country. We are satisfied, that "the capriciousness and over-stimulating food," as a cause of disease, ought to be entirely discarded in the estimate. There is no reason why it should be "over-stimulating;" and as for "capriciousness," there is less of that in the diet of a thriving city than elsewhere; whilst the neighbouring country is dependent upon capricious supplies, the market of the city is always well stocked.

There is here, as in many of the cases to which we have alluded, considerable difficulty in arriving at any satisfactory conclusion. In the experiments of Jenner and Baron, where the secluded animals died, and those which were restored to freedom lived, we are necessarily at a loss to say, whether the confined and deteriorated air, or the loss of the ordinary free range, or of accustomed food, or all combined, produced the baneful effects; and this perplexity would occur in appreciating the results produced upon the annual influx into cities from the country: whether, for example, the deaths were owing to the new circumstances of diet and exercise under which the stranger might be supposed to be placed, or to the *positive* insalubrity of the

"Chaos of eternal smoke
And volatile corruption from the dead,
The dying, sick'ning, and the living world."

But none of those difficulties surround us in investigating the causes of the excessive mortality of infants in cities, compared with that in the country. From the earliest moment of existence, they have respired the same medium; they have been subjected to no changes. We are forced, consequently, to the conclusion, that the air of cities is not favourable to their exist-

ence, and we can understand how it may be, to a certain extent, detrimental to the adult likewise.

Connected with this subject, we may adduce a curious table, originally published by a Mr. Fraser, in the *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* for October, 1827, and copied into one of the works before us.* It professes to be deduced from returns by friendly societies in Scotland, for various ages, from 1750 to 1821, and its object is to show, how far sickness is dependant upon age.

Ages.	Duration of sickness.			Weeks or time in decimals.	Proportion of sick members.
	Weeks.	Days.	Hours.		
under 20	0	2	16	0.3797	1 in 136.95
20 to 30	0	4	3	0.5916	1 in 87.89
30 40	0	4	19	0.6865	1 in 75.74
40 50	1	0	4	1.0273	1 in 50.61
50 60	1	6	3	1.8806	1 in 27.65
60 70	5	4	10	5.6337	1 in 9.23
above 70	16	3	19	16.5417	1 in 3.14

According to this table, the probability of a person between 20 and 30 years old, being sick, is to that of one between 40 and 50, as 87 to 50; and the comparative lengths of the period of sickness will be as 4 to 7.

A prevalent mode at this time—especially in our own country—of accounting for the greater number of deaths in towns, and for a large portion of those which occur over every part of the Union and of the world, is that of ascribing them to the use of ardent spirits.

Unhappily for the moral condition and political prosperity of countries, there is too much foundation for this idea; and fortunate would it be, could the evil be importantly diminished; eradicated we do not think it can be.

We believe, however, that its influence has been greatly exaggerated. The greater proportional mortality in London, at the middle of the last century, and the extraordinary number of deaths in Stockholm at the present time, have been ascribed to this cause, but we have no documentary evidence. It would be presumptuous in us to attempt to form an estimate of the number of deaths produced by ardent spirits in the United States. If they gave rise to peculiar diseases in all cases, we could form an accurate judgment. The greatest discrepancy of opinion has, however, prevailed amongst writers, with regard to the affections which they do engender. Some have ascribed chronic diseases only, to their agency; others, with more propriety, perhaps—if

* Journal of Health, vol. i. p. 90.

we look at both their *direct* and *indirect* action—both acute and chronic.

“‘It was a sagacious saying of one of the ancients,’ observes an enthusiastic and veteran writer on this subject, ‘that *God* sends *acute* diseases, but *chronic* disorders we create ourselves.’ Acute diseases are such as proceed with rapidity, and terminate soon : such are violent fevers, pleurisies, quinsies, and epidemical disorders. Hence they are generally owing to a cause that ‘walketh in darkness,’ being such as prudence could not obviate, nor prescience guard against.”*

Now it was admitted by Sydenham, whose estimate can of course only be regarded as an approximation, that two-thirds of mankind die of acute diseases, and that of the remaining one-third, two-thirds, or two-ninths of the whole, die of consumption, leaving consequently only one-ninth to perish from other chronic maladies.

Consumption is, however, one of the diseases often ascribed directly to intemperance, and not merely to intemperance in ardent spirits, but in the use of tobacco.†. It may be so, but the evidence on this point is not satisfactory. We have seen that consumption is a disease of locality, of atmospheric vicissitude, highly fatal in temperate regions ; unknown in the torrid zone, where no excess can induce it. But, it has been remarked, children born of intemperate parents, are likely to be weakly and liable to consumption. The opinion has antiquity in its favour, but we are sceptical :—

“Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis :
Est in juvenis, est in equis patrum
Virtus : nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilæ columbam.”‡

Decisive evidence is wanting. This much, however, is physiologically clear. Acquired defects, if they may be so termed, are not apt to be propagated ; and happily for us. Were it otherwise, we should have the most singular and innumerable varieties of races. Where a limb had been amputated, a stock of one-limbed animals would instantly be formed : the docked horse would propagate a mutilated colt, &c. On the other hand, it seems equally clear, that parts which are supernumerary or deficient at birth, are apt to be found supernumerary or deficient in the offspring of the individual so circumstanced : hence we occa-

* Cautions to young persons concerning health, &c. &c., in a public lecture, showing the evil tendency of the use of tobacco, &c. &c., by Benjamin Waterhouse, p. 15.

† Waterhouse, p. 34.

‡ Horat. l. iv. od. 4.

“The brave and good are copies of their kind :
In steers laborious, and in generous steeds,
We trace their sires ; nor can the bird of Jove,
Intrepid, fierce, beget th’ unwarlike dove.”—*Francis*.

sionally meet with a family of six-fingered children, or of deaf and dumb, the progeny of persons similarly affected.

"Chronic diseases," continues the author to whom we have last alluded, in his peculiar and involved language, "are those that come on slowly and continue long. We place under this head *depraved appetite, jaundice*, and the long and gloomy train of *nervous disorders*. To these we may add, *gout, asthma, palsy*, and *apoplexy*, as well as that imbecility or morbid derangement of the absorbent system occasioning *dropsies*, which is accompanied by that generally depraved habit of body, known among physicians by the name of *cachexia*, all of which are owing to *chronic weakness*: the source of which is an imbecility of the digestive organs, occasioning errors in the 'first concoction,' which deranges the whole chain of processes, between chylification and sanguification."

This leaves the attempt of the Passenger, represented by the comedian, Matthews, to explain the motion of a steam-boat, infinitely behind it; but, notwithstanding the faulty theory, the diseases enumerated are those that seem to be the most commonly induced by the abuse of spirituous liquors.

A writer in a recent publication—more bold than we—and founding his deductions on some kind of evidence obtained in Boston, asserts, that not less than between 30,000 and 40,000 die annually in the United States from this cause.† That the bills of mortality, for the last two years, of the city of Boston, give on an average fifty deaths "occasioned so directly by intemperance, as to be entered under names of disease to which none but drunkards fall victims:" and supposing, therefore, "that, on an average throughout our country, the deaths from intemperance bear about the same proportion to the whole number that they do in Boston," he estimates the direct victims to the use of ardent spirits, to be annually, in the United States, 10,000. The "names of disease" are not given. We are therefore left in the dark. Probably, allusion is made to the *mania à potu*, or *mania e potu*, or, as we have seen it—doubtless owing to typographical inaccuracy—but with equal pretensions to Latinity, "*mania a pot*,"—a kind of cant term, often signifying the state of dead drunkenness, but frequently having no precise pathological meaning attached to it. Certain it is, that it is scarcely within the verge of *possibility*, that 10,000 persons could die annually in the United States from *Delirium tremens*.

Professor Hitchcock, of Amherst College, in some lectures on diet, regimen, and employment, delivered to the students of that college, in spring term, 1830, and which have met with the high approbation of the "Association of Physicians,"‡ estimates at from 30,000 to 50,000, the annual number of those above 20 years of age, who die prematurely, in consequence of the use of these substances.

* Waterhouse, p. 15.

† American Almanack for 1830, p. 126.

‡ Journal of Health, vol. i. p. 311.

It is probable that these estimates are far beyond the amount of the mischief, extensive and revolting as it unquestionably is. We would not cast so deep a stigma on our country, without better evidence than any that has been yet afforded us. On the amount of deaths, produced by the indirect action of ardent spirit, our data are especially defective. There is not a disease, so induced, but admits of other causes; and here is the source of perplexity—one, in fact, which is insurmountable. It is philosophical to presume, that habitual over-indulgence in spirituous liquors, must render an individual more susceptible of disease, and less able to resist its attacks. Of this we have no doubt. Yet it is but proper to add, that some of the most extraordinary cases of longevity, with which we have been acquainted, occurred in those addicted to what would be called habitual indulgence. It may be said, that these centenarians might have lived still longer had they been temperate. We think so too: but we cannot, in our ignorance, say *positively* either aye! or nay! to this contingent proposition.

“’Tis true; ’tis true, ’tis pity: and pity ’tis, ’tis true.”

We regret to see the exaggerations that are abroad on this subject. The evil is of sufficient magnitude. It requires no amplification. To any point that demands correction, the estimate or the language of hyperbole is injurious, inasmuch as it does not induce unhesitating assent. The temperance societies that have been established through our land, for the interdiction of ardent spirits, have rendered important service; but their operation is partial. Moderation—the never-failing attendant on good sense—will modify some of the asperities and impracticable parts of their constitution; unnecessary self-privation and rigour will gain few proselytes, and so far defeat the praiseworthy intentions of many of their founders.

The attempt to proscribe the use of wine is one of those objectionable ultra projects, which, to say the least of it, is injudicious and unfeasible. Excessive indulgence or *abuse*, is, unquestionably, to be deprecated. Moderate *use*, even *if habitual*, except in particular constitutions, we may safely pronounce to be devoid of every noxious property.

“We curse not wine: the vile excess we blame.”

Wine-making is, perhaps, one of the oldest inventions. It was practised, probably, by the earliest created beings. The sacred historian informs us, that “Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and he drank of the wine, and was drunken.” Noah therefore must have understood the art, and this upon a somewhat extensive scale, as he planted a vineyard. These facts lead to the belief, that wine-making was one of the antediluvian discoveries, the knowledge of which Noah main-

tained. We find, in the sacred writings, numerous allusions to the use of wine, and even recommendations of it. No where is it prohibited: excess, or *abuse*, alone being deprecated. This the inculcators of ultra-temperance are constrained to admit: but let us see how they get over the difficulty.

"Mark me now: now will I raise the waters."—*Launcelot*.

"Concerning wine, I remark, that a permission to use it in Judea is a very different thing from allowing it in the United States. For, in the first place, the wine sold in this country is, as I have already shown, a very different substance from that used in Judea, or any other country where the grape is cultivated. *Forty-nine fiftieths* (!) of our wines are a mixture of wine, cider, brandy, and sometimes the juice of berries, sumach, logwood, spices, aromatics, sulphur, and the leaves of plants more or less poisonous. In short, they are generally ardent spirit in a diluted form, disguised by substances hardly less injurious. To be permitted to drink the pure juice of the grape, which is the common wine of Judea, is surely a very different thing from a grant to use such deleterious compounds. Indeed, let any one point out to me, if he can, the difference between using brandy and water, and brandy mixed with wine."

This is mere gratuitous assertion and unmixed twattle. Except that they were intoxicating, and did not contain *distilled* spirit, we know no more of the ancient wines of Judea, from the modern, than we do of the old Falernian or Massican from the wines of the same regions of modern Italy. But whence, we should be glad to learn, did the Professor of Chemistry and Natural History at Amherst, deduce his toxicological knowledge, that logwood, spices, aromatics, and sulphur, are deleterious impregnations? Not even the notorious Accum, in his "*Death in the Pot*," amidst all his absurdities, we will venture to assert, for we have not his work before us, has attempted to excite our apprehensions against such harmless intruders.

Under the feelings that dictate his *tirade* against the adulterated juice of the grape, the Professor will be concerned to learn, that the pre-eminent intellectual and moral manifestations of the European, and those of European descent, have been ascribed to the use of wine; manifestations which cannot be developed in the Moslem, because his religion deprives him of its enjoyment;† and that in every philosophical work on dietetics it has been extolled, especially as a peristaltic persuader, as Dr. Kitchener would have called it.

The old maxim of the *Schola Ialernitana*, whose dietetic precepts were promulgated in Leonine verses in the year 1100, has doubtless perpetuated the custom, common at table in every part of the world, of exciting the stomach to action by some stimulant, when food, somewhat rebellious, has been taken.

"Est caro porcina sine vino pejor ovina;
Si tribuis vina tunc est cibus et medicina."

* Professor Hitchcock, in a work under the quaint title, "*Dyspepsy forestalled and resisted*," as quoted in the "*Journal of Health*."

† Virey, *Histoire Naturelle du genre humain*, tom. ii. p. 227.

In England, a small quantity of brandy is taken for this purpose; in Scotland, whiskey,—and in Germany, *kirschwasser*.

The Association prefer “hot water”—*De gustibus, &c.* Sixteen physicians in New-York, “think that, in some cases of dyspepsy, but they are not frequent, ardent spirit may be prescribed as a palliative.”—*Journal of Health* for Sept. 1830.

The same physicians lay down the law—that “*never* does ardent spirit operate as a preventive of epidemic and pestilential diseases, very *generally* it is an exciting cause of such diseases.” p. 14. A bold and incautious assertion, utterly incapable of being substantiated.

How different from this are the opinions of two of the most eminent writers, who have recently written on the subject of Epidemic Disease and public Hygiène, and both of whom have had unusual opportunities for observation,—we allude to MM. Ozanam and Fodéré.

When M. Ozanam passed through *Torre dé tre ponti*, situated in the middle of the Pomptine marshes, and in a most insalubrious district, he was astonished to see the *maître de poste* of that place with every appearance of the enjoyment of the most perfect health. On asking him how he contrived to preserve himself so free from disease in such a pestilential situation? he answered, “I have lived at this place 40 years, and have never had fever; the only precaution I take is, never to go out of doors until the sun is some distance above the horizon, to return at sunset, and light a little fire. I feed well, and I drink wine. This is my secret.”*

Professor Fodéré, of Strasburgh, is more explicit—

“In truth,” he observes, “good water would be sufficient in healthy and very dry countries, where the people are, moreover, well fed; but a kind of instinct has created fermented liquors, which seem to be particularly necessary for men in the north, and in moist countries. Labouring men, feeding on coarse diet, which exhausts the excitability of their digestive organs, experience a vacuum and a singular kind of depression, when obliged to do without this excitement; and I should not be surprised if a scarcity of wine, when the harvest fails, should become a cause of epidemics, although its excess may produce, more frequently still, individual disease. It is then of importance for practitioners in the country, to teach the inhabitants, in time of dearth, how to procure some alcoholic liquor. This can be obtained by the fermentation of all fruits, even the wild kind, that contain a mucro-saccharine matter, such as currants, raspberries, blackberries, barberries, &c.” “The want of wine,” he adds, “is a privation, and may produce a disposition to disease.”†

“But,” say the ‘Association of Physicians,’ “water is the *natural* drink of plants and animals of every description, and is the only article which can fulfil those ends for which the introduction of a liquid into the human system is demanded, &c. &c.” Vol. i. p. 20.

Still they are constrained to admit, that “The moderate use of pure wine, is unattended by nearly all those deleterious ef-

* *Histoire médicale des maladies épidémiques, &c.* tom. i. p. 29.

† *Leçons sur les Epidémies et l'hygiène publique.* p. 133.

fects consequent upon the employment of ardent spirits to any amount." Vol. i. p. 136.

But, "water is the *natural* drink," &c. Doubtless, it is. Plants and animals have no choice; man has. Water is unquestionably sufficient for the purposes of man, provided it possess the proper qualities. So is a very limited range of animal or vegetable food; but is this a reason why he should not have recourse to variety? The question—whether there was ever a time when man confined himself to the simple banquet provided for him by the bounteous hand of nature;—

"His food the fruits, his drink the crystal well,"

and whether it is not his duty to recur to it, had, we thought, died away, never to be revived. It is now universally admitted, that man is by structure—by *nature*—necessarily omnivorous; and that if, after having been habituated to both animal and vegetable food, he be restricted to *either* exclusively, he falls off and is attacked with scurvy; but that, omnivorous as he is, he may, from infancy, be accustomed to subsist upon either one or the other—an important capability, seeing that, by virtue of his ubiquity, he is destined to inhabit frozen regions, where vegetable food cannot be procured, as well as torrid climes, where animal food, in necessary abundance, is not easily attainable. But what is meant by the *natural* state of man, to which such constant allusion is made? Are we to consider it to mean that condition in which he may be conceived to have issued from the creative hands of Omnipotence, possessed of capabilities of improvement, of what the Germans call *Grundkraft*, but requiring time and experience for the development of those capabilities? If so, then nakedness is his natural state. If so, the rational man is an *unnatural* formation, and every advancement in knowledge has been an additional link to an unnatural chain. Such views have, without doubt, given rise to the term *natural*, applied to the idiot. But in what respect is it, that man differs from the rest of the animated creation? Is it not by the possession of this very *Grundkraft*? Worse provided with means of defence than the beasts that surround him; possessing no covering to protect him from atmospheric vicissitudes; exposed to the rigour of the Arctic snows and to the burning heat of Equatorial climes; the most helpless of created beings in the earliest periods of his existence,—how is it that he is enabled to live amidst these various and apparently overpowering obstacles? By the possession of those natural, intellectual capabilities, which have taught him to provide himself means of defence; to render the animals around him subservient to his use, and to make the most ferocious beasts of the forest own his supremacy;—to cover his nakedness, and to protect himself against the summer's heat and the winter's cold.

It is by these that he has invented every mechanical art; that he fathoms the laws which govern the bodies by which he is surrounded; that he can deprive even the artillery of the heavens of its terrors; and that he establishes himself undisputed master of this planet: and can we consider all these developments as *unnatural*?

But the "Association" are themselves aware, that their doctrines of the "*natural*," even as applied to water, will not hold good throughout. It is only pure water, free from all impregnations, that they recommend.

"Springs, in a clayey soil, generally yield hard water, unfit for several of the purposes of life."—"Marsh and pond water must necessarily be unwholesome, owing to the greater proportion of animal and vegetable matters, particularly the former, which they contain." Vol. i. p. 88.

And again:—

"*Distilled water*, after having been exposed to the air, is the most salubrious of all drinks, and approaches more to the character of a panacea than all the drugs and compounds and nostrums on which this title has been, at different times, so impudently lavished. Its daily use, in measured potations, would do more real good in dyspepsia, as a means of relief in it, and of warding off hypochondriasis and the vapours, than is promised from all the wine bitters and tonics ever prescribed at apothecaries' halls."—"Sea water, subjected to distillation, furnishes fresh water—a discovery this of incalculable value to persons on board ship, when the regular supply is exhausted, after an unusually long voyage or unexpected accident. There should be, in every ship, an apparatus for distilling water, in case of distress. It consists merely of a head and worm adapted to the common boiler, so that distillation may go on while the victuals are boiling. More than eight gallons of excellent fresh water may be thus drawn off in an hour from the copper of the smallest ship of war."—p. 105.

Avast reading there! overhaul that article again! as old Trun-nion says. "*Distilled water*," did you say? So that even water, as furnished in its most *natural* condition, must be subjected to the *artificial* process of distillation—that source of so much genuine misery—before it can be considered eminently fit for consumption. We pass over the extravagant nonsense on the effects of distilled water; and on the distilled sea water, we may merely remark, from experience, that no one who has tasted it will ever feel disposed to repeat the experiment; so that the ingenious scheme of Lind has been found to fail totally in practice, even under circumstances where, it might be imagined, it would have been highly successful. The Association assert that it produces "excellent, fresh water." As we said before, "there is no accounting for tastes." But is not the water, produced by such distillation, infinitely more *artificial* than wine? Can any thing be esteemed more simple and obvious than wine-making? If the juice of the grape be separated and set aside for a few hours, it ferments spontaneously, and wine is the result. Hence its early invention.

Tobacco, opium, and the whole class of vegetable and mineral

poisons, are *natural* productions—but it is idle to pursue the subject further. We have bestowed too much attention upon it already.

To conclude:—we have remarked upon the diminution of mortality that has taken place every where, especially within the last century. Why there should have been this extraordinary improvement, it is difficult to say. It may be probably referred to the more ample supply of food, clothing, and fuel; better habitations; ameliorated habits of cleanliness and ventilation, and improved medical practice.

The island of Great Britain has been, for upwards of a century and a half, exempt from those wide-spreading epidemic and contagious affections, which from time to time had spread gloom and desolation over the whole country. Some more efficient causes of exemption must exist than the quarantine regulations. These probably lie in the intrinsic circumstances just referred to. The surprising diminution in the mortality, within the last thirty years, is without doubt to be referred to the introduction of vaccination. There is, however, one cause peculiarly interesting to this community, and on which we must briefly dwell.

It is an old and prevalent opinion, that poverty is conducive to longevity; and that health is enjoyed to a greater extent among the poorer classes of society than among the rich. The very opposite to this is the fact, when accurate statistical information has been obtained. It has been clearly shown, that wherever misery prevails, there will be found the largest share of mortality.

M. Villermé, of Paris, whom we know to be an accurate and intelligent observer, has ascertained, that whenever the people have suffered from any cause, the deaths have correspondently increased, the births have decreased, and the mean duration of life has been shortened; whilst, in times of prosperity, the results have been directly opposite.

The inferences he draws from his investigations are:

1. That the mortality in France, and consequently the mean duration of life, is very different among those in easy circumstances, from what it is among the poor and destitute.

2. That this difference is so great, that in some of the wealthy departments, such as of Calvados, Orne, and Sarthe, the deaths are only 1 in 50; whereas, among the inhabitants of the 12th arrondissement of Paris, the proportion is 1 in 24, and a fraction.

The conservative tendency of easy circumstances, is likewise evinced in the inferior degree of mortality and disease among persons insured at the various life offices. We have stated, that in the Equitable Life Office, Mr. Morgan found that the actual deaths, which had occurred among 83,000 persons, insured dur-

ing thirty years, were in the proportion of only 3 to 5 of what had been anticipated; and in this case, the mortality amongst the women was still less than that of the men. The annual average of deaths amongst the persons insured at the Equitable, from 1800 to 1820, was only about 1 in 81.5. Of 1000 members of the University Club, only 35 died in three years, which is a still lower rate, being about 1 in 90 annually. Of 10,000 pupils, who, in different years, passed through Pestalozzi's institution, in Switzerland, it is even asserted that not one died during his residence there.*

What gratifying prospects are afforded by these estimates to the population of this Union! blessed as we are, with a government whose sole object must be the happiness and prosperity of the states, and where oppression is impossible; with equal laws, and an extent and capability of country such, that none need perish through want; but, on the contrary, where each, with due temperance and industry, may enjoy affluence, compared with the wretched lower classes of many portions of the old world. "So intimate a connexion," says Dr. Hawkins, "subsists between political changes and the public health, that wherever feudal distinctions have been abolished, wherever the artisan or the peasant have been released from arbitrary enactments, there, also, the life of the lower classes has acquired a new vigour; and it is certain, that even bodily strength, and the power of enduring hardships, are divided among the nations of the earth, in a proportion relative to their prosperity and civilization."

ART. VII.—*Narrative of Don Juan Van Halen's Imprisonment in the Dungeons of the Inquisition at Madrid, and his Escape in 1817 and 1818; to which are added, his Journey to Russia, his Campaign with the army of the Caucasus, and his Return to Spain in 1821. Edited from the Original Spanish Manuscript, by the Author of "Don Esteban" and "Sandoval."* New-York: J. & J. Harper: 1828.

ALTHOUGH the above work is not a publication of very recent date, and was, we believe, noticed in some of our journals soon after its appearance, yet we think it well to call the attention of our readers to its contents at the present moment,

* Hawkins, p. 209.

when the individual to whom they relate is assuming a character of double interest and importance, through his connexion with late events, that have attracted the eyes of the whole civilized world. The newspapers must have informed every one, that, in the commotions which have just occurred in Brussels, and which promise momentous results, that must confer extensive celebrity on the persons chiefly concerned in bringing them about, the name of Don Juan Van Halen is that of the principal military leader on the revolutionary side. We need, therefore, offer no farther reason for inserting here a brief sketch of his life and character, as far as we can infer the one, and extract the other, from the book we have mentioned. With regard to the work itself, we may remark, that, though its foundation seems to rest upon truth, or, in other words, though the main facts recorded in it wear the appearance of credibility, yet upon these a superstructure has been raised, which looks much more like the work of a fertile imagination than a retentive memory. How much of the imaginative part is to be attributed to General Don Juan, and how much to the person who has clothed his manuscript in an English dress, it is impossible for us to say; but we may observe, that the editorship of this "Narrative" is of a suspicious character. The author of "Don Esteban" and "Sandoval" is treated by the London Quarterly Review as not one of the most reputable of the existing knights of the quill. In that journal he is affirmed to be one of "a joint stock company," composed of Englishmen and Spaniards—himself an Englishman, though the works were issued under the name of "a Spaniard"—who manufactured books about Spain, which are filled with extreme exaggerations and gross blunders, and whose main object was to blacken the character of Ferdinand, and all the royal party. We are inclined, therefore, to suppose, that Van Halen's notes did not come out of the laboratory of this "firm," without being moulded in a manner calculated to suit their objects. It is, however, an amusing volume, with a good deal of interesting incident, happy description, and spirited narrative, and not at all the worse, as to its attractiveness, for the degree of fiction with which it is imbued.

Juan Van Halen was born in the isle of Leon, in Spain, on the 16th of February, 1790. His father, who, though a native of Cadiz, was of Belgic origin, had acquired distinction in the Spanish navy, and the son was educated for the same career. Before the latter had attained the age of sixteen, he had served in two naval expeditions, the last of which was terminated by the famous action at Trafalgar. He was soon afterwards made a lieutenant, and placed in command of a gun-boat belonging to the flotilla of Malaga, in which service he was wounded. In

1807, he repaired to Madrid, in consequence of receiving an appointment in the admiralty-office, and continued in his post until after the invasion of Spain by Napoleon in the following year; but having taken part with the people of the capital in their combat with the French, on the 2d of May, in which he was wounded, he was obliged to make his escape to avoid being shot. He then joined the army of Galicia, under Blake, and continued with it until the capture of Ferrol by Soult, where he was made prisoner, and, together with the rest of the garrison, officers and all, took the oath of submission to King Joseph.

This act he extenuates, on the ground, that, as he firmly believed that the time for resistance had passed, and that no efforts could repel the invaders, it was preferable for him to do what would enable him to remain in his native country, and continue to entertain the hope of being useful to her, than to lay down his arms and spend the remainder of his life in captivity. The goddess of expediency, at whose shrine our hero seems occasionally to have been fond of worshipping, could certainly have had no right to complain of his disregard of her precepts in this instance. He makes a merit, however, of having continued faithful to the interests of Joseph, even after the latter had been overtaken by adversity, and had retired into France; but this constancy strikes us as not altogether reconcileable with the foregoing reasons for espousing his cause. It seems rather singular conduct in a patriot, to submit to the enemy because the tide of success is setting so strongly in his favour, that it would be futile to attempt to stem it, and still to continue with him when that reason no longer operates—it is a new method of serving one's country, that of siding with her foes, no matter whether from compulsion or choice, while fortune frowns upon her, in order to be of use to her when the goddess should smile; and then, when favourable indications *do* appear, to remain still an adherent of the hostile party. We do not wish to detract from any merit that Don Juan may claim, or to which he may be entitled, on account of his fidelity to the cause of King Joseph; we only wish, for the sake of his reputation as a consistent patriot, that he had not taken the oath of submission, no matter what might have been the consequences. We cannot help thinking, that when the man who aspires to the fame of a true patriot, is required to recognise an authority exercised in his country which he may deem an usurpation, or subversive of its interests, he is bound by every sentiment of honour and every principle to refuse compliance, regardless of the alternative. By consenting to do what is thus commanded, he commits not only an act which in itself is repugnant to the dictates of an honourable and elevated

spirit, but one which is likely to produce pernicious moral effects upon the cause which he seems, in consequence, to have deserted.—

“Stand
Firm for your country, and become a man
Honour'd and lov'd; it were a noble life
To be found dead embracing her.”

“Ever faithful to my engagements, I adhered to the cause I had espoused, not only during its prosperity, but followed Joseph in his bad fortunes to France.” These are the words which have given rise to the above remarks. He did not, however, reap much benefit from accompanying the ex-king, for he complains of having been abandoned by him “in a manner no less unkind than unmerited,” and gives an account in a note of the treatment which he says he received. This complaint appears to us to be altogether unfounded, for he himself states no particular claim which he possessed upon Joseph, further than the one that was common to a multitude of other “afrancesados,” as the Spaniards who sided with the French were called, and it is not to be supposed that it was incumbent on the ex-king, or even possible for him, to provide for all the emigrant members of that party.

When the decree of the Spanish regency was issued, in 1813, in which an invitation was given to those Spaniards who had taken refuge in France after the retreat of Joseph, to return to their country, and a promise was made of burying their past conduct in oblivion, Van Halen was residing privately in Bordeaux. He immediately resolved to avail himself of it, and wrote to the Spanish government, announcing his determination; but being anxious, previously to his return, to perform some service for his country which might prove his attachment to her cause, he contrived to possess himself of a copy of the seal of the French general in chief, Marshal Suchet. Having soon afterwards effected his flight to the national army in Catalonia, he concerted with its generals a plan to cause the evacuation of the fortified places occupied by the French on the other side of the Llobregat, by means of supposed orders and capitulations, to which the possession of the seal enabled them to give the appearance of authenticity. The plan succeeded according to their most sanguine wishes. Van Halen dressed himself as a French officer, and passing for an aid-de-camp of Marshal Suchet, presented himself successively before the fortresses of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Monzon, as a negotiator, and the bearer of orders to their respective governors to evacuate them immediately with their troops. They were completely deceived, and complied with the supposed directions; by which Spain recovered three

important places without the loss of a single drop of blood. The consequences of this manœuvre were also, in another respect, highly beneficial to her cause; as the French garrisons which had left those places, having become entangled in a narrow defile, while marching to join their main army, were surrounded by a superior force, and constrained to lay down their arms.

For this service Van Halen was appointed a captain by the regency. The wording of the cause of his promotion, in the brevet which notified it to him, is somewhat singular: "In reward of your extraordinary merit, and of the important service you have rendered to the country, in *re-conquering* from the enemy the strong places of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Monzon." We conceive that the term *re-conquer*, is not altogether the most appropriate one that could be found for expressing the nature of the trick played off upon the French. This act, indeed, at first view, might be regarded as a piece of fraud scarcely susceptible of any thing like justification, especially if we take into consideration the mode in which Van Halen is said to have procured Suchet's seal—by entering into his domestic service in disguise, and availing himself of the opportunity thus obtained of accomplishing his purpose;—but when we recollect the treacherous devices by which Napoleon made Ferdinand his captive, established his power in Spain, and even gained possession, we believe, of these identical fortresses, we may find it difficult to say that the employment of almost any means for recovering what had been thus lost, could want an adequate apology. In his new rank of captain, Van Halen served with the Catalanian army until the end of the campaign, when Ferdinand was restored to his throne.

It is well known, that soon after this event, when time sufficient had elapsed to undeceive the liberal party in their hopes from the promises made by the king of giving them such a constitution as they wished, *secret societies* were established under masonic forms, the object of which, as far as has been ascertained, was "to support a ministry, or any body of men, who should endeavour to persuade the king to fulfil his royal decree of the 4th of May, in which he promised to establish a representative government in conformity with the ideas of the age." Such, at least, is stated by Van Halen to have been the purpose of these associations, which beginning in Granada near the end of the year 1815, soon spread throughout Spain, and numbered among their members, many of the most influential men, both as to rank and talents, in the country. They became an object, of course, of great suspicion to the government, and various individuals were arrested who were supposed to be connected with them. Among the first of these was Van Halen, although, as yet,

had nothing to do with them whatever. On the 8th of December 1815, he was dining at the house of a friend in the town of Juen, where his regiment had been cantoned after the conclusion of the war, when he was informed that his servant wished to speak with him, and learning from him that the colonel and the adjutant of his regiment had been seeking for him at his lodgings, he repaired thither without delay. On entering his apartment he found there the two officers, and was immediately told by the colonel, that a royal order had been received directing his arrest and the seizure of all his papers. The next day he was sent to the castle of Marvella on the coast of Malaga, under a strong escort, and the following morning removed to the city of Malaga, of which Count de Montijo was governor. He was soon afterwards, however, released, as it was discovered that the orders for his arrest had been issued by some members of the ministry without authority. This the king himself stated in his answer to a letter addressed to him by Montijo on the subject. The monarch at the same time expressed his surprise at such orders having been given without his knowledge, and promoted Van Halen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, after causing, at his solicitation, a proclamation of his innocence to be circulated through all the divisions of the army.

The following year, our hero did really enrol himself among the members of the association, and visited several cities in Andalusia, for the purpose of doing all that he could to unite the different secret societies which were scattered through that province. A cantonment having been about this time assigned to his regiment in the city of Murcia, he removed there with it, but he does not seem to have been very highly pleased with either the place or the inhabitants. The following rather ludicrous instance of the pride and poverty of the Murcian nobles, is recorded in his Narrative.—

“A few days after my arrival in this city, I was invited to a ball given by the nobility to celebrate Easter Sunday. The etiquette that preceded the invitations, the informations taken respecting the rank and character of the guests, and the researches made into their pedigrees, as well as the arms that adorned the front of the house destined for the festival, all seemed to promise the greatest magnificence. The whole orchestra, however, consisted of two blind fiddlers, whom I had the same day met playing in the streets; and the refreshments were in perfect unison with the music; a few pitchers of water, served by two servants clothed in old liveries, being all that the munificence of the Murcian nobility could afford. In contemplating this scene, I could not but repeat to myself the old Spanish proverb, which says, *vanidad y pobreza, todo en una pieza.*”

In Murcia, Van Halen continued to reside until the September of 1817, actively engaged in promoting by his correspondence, and in other ways, the views of the association. On the 21st of that month, he was seized and thrown into the dungeons of the old edifice of the Inquisition in the town, in consequence of

the treachery of a friend to whose care he had intrusted a packet of papers containing his secrets, and by whom they were communicated to the government. He was soon afterwards removed to the new prison of the "Holy Office," which had just been erected in Murcia, having been previously permitted by the senior inquisitor, Castañeda, from whom he received kind treatment in all respects, to address a petition to the king, intreating him to order his removal to Madrid, and to grant him there an audience, in which he promised to give a satisfactory explanation of such of his papers as had been seized. An affirmative answer was soon returned to these requests, and on the 3d of October, he set out under a strong guard for Madrid, where he arrived a few days afterwards, and was immediately cast into a dungeon of the Inquisition prison in that city, which had been the abode of the unfortunate Olavide. After he had been confined there somewhat more than a week, he received a visit from Ramirez de Arellano, one of the principal favourites of the king, who informed him that the audience he had solicited would be granted to him the following evening. The next day, at the appointed hour, the same person again called, and conducted him to the palace. Of his interview with the monarch, we extract the following account:—

"On reaching the saloon, Arellano cried, 'Sire!'

"'What is the matter?' inquired a thick voice from within.

"'Here is Van Halen,' replied Arellano. We were desired to enter. The king was alone, sitting in the only chair that was in the room. As we entered, he rose and advanced a few steps towards us. We found him in a complete *négligé*, being without a cravat, and his waistcoat wholly unbuttoned. Before the arm-chair stood a large table, on which there were various papers, a portfolio, a writing-desk, and heaps of Havana cigars spread about. Beside the table stood an *escritoire*, which probably was the same mentioned by Irriberry, in which the king had locked my papers. As I approached him, I bent a knee to kiss his hand, according to the usual etiquette; but he raised me, and said, 'What do you want? Why do you wish to see me?'

"'Sire,' I replied, 'because I am quite confident that your majesty, if you would deign to hear me leisurely, will dismiss those prejudices against me, which you doubtless must have been inspired with, to have ordered the rigorous treatment I have experienced.'

"'Well, but you belong to a conspiracy, and you ought to reveal it to me. I know it all. Are you not horror-stricken? Who are your accomplices?'

"'To desire the good of one's country, sire, is not conspiring. I feel no hesitation in revealing to your majesty those good wishes; on the contrary, I rejoice at having found an opportunity of disclosing them to you. But if your majesty know all, and know it correctly, there will be nothing more for me to add. Any farther explanation your majesty may require will only contribute to soften your anger towards me, and to convince you, that, if we have hitherto concealed our object from your majesty, it was to avoid the vengeance of those who are striving to render hateful your illustrious name.'

"'Who are those who have so wilfully misled you? Tell me who they are—do not hesitate.'

"'Sire, if your majesty know all, you must be aware that I have not been misled by any one; but that I have always acted from self-conviction, and that the events of the times and the general mistrust have arrived at such a pitch that I do not personally know any one of those who labour in the same cause.'

"But you must know the means by which they are to be discovered. Your duty is to obey me. Choose my favour, or your disgrace."

"Sire, place yourself at our head, and you will then know every one of us."

"At these words Ramirez de Arellano came forward foaming with rage, and, raising his hands, exclaimed, in a most insolent and improper tone for the presence of a monarch, 'To the seed, sir! to the seed. We want no preambles or sophisms here. There is paper; take this pen, here, here, (pushing a pen and a sheet of paper towards me,) here, you must write the names of all the conspirators—no roundabouts, no subterfuges. His majesty is the king of these realms, and there ought to be nothing hidden from him under the sun. I have read the Burroel (he meant the Barruel); I have been in France, and I know what all these fashions are. Where are the sacred oaths for your king and your religion?'"

"During the whole of the time of this furious ranting, I kept my eyes fixed on the king, who seemed converted into a statue from the moment Ramirez commenced speaking; but when I saw him insist on my taking the pen, I said, without even looking at that despicable wretch, 'Sire, I know no one.'

"Sire, to the Inquisition with him," cried Ramirez. "The tribunal will easily extort them from him."

"The king, showing some displeasure at Ramirez's behaviour, said to me, 'But it is impossible you should not know them.'

"Sire, if I meant to say what I could not prove, or if I wished to conceal a crime, I would rather avoid than seek the presence of my sovereign; but if, being guilty, I sought it, once before your majesty I would profit of the opportunity to ask a pardon which my innocence does not need."

"The king remained for a few minutes thoughtful, his eyes fixed on me, and then said, 'Tell me by writing whatever you have to say.' Another short pause now ensued, after which he took a cigar from the table, lighted it, and asked me if I smoked. On my answering in the affirmative, he said to Arellano, who heard him with displeasure, 'Carry him some cigars;' and then motioned me to withdraw. When I took his hand to kiss it, he pressed mine with an air of interest, and as I turned round at the door to make my obeisance, I heard him say, while conversing with Arellano, 'What a pity, such a youth! . . .' A thousand times did I afterwards remember this expression. I continued my way alone to the ante-room, and being soon after joined by Ramirez, we proceeded to the carriage, and thence to my fatal dwelling. During our short ride, Arellano was as unmeaningly loquacious as before; but neither my head nor my humour allowed me to give him any reply. I could see in him only one of the many perverse men by whom the king was ruled, and against whom all my efforts must prove ineffectual. I wished to lose sight of a creature so arrogant and depraved; but he only left me when he saw me safely lodged in my dungeon."

It would be needless for us to follow the captive in all the details which he gives of his existence in the dungeon of the Inquisition. It will be sufficient for our purpose to mention, that after having undergone two examinations before a military fiscal appointed to draw up the *procès verbal* that was to be instituted against him, he was made to appear several times before the tribunal of inquisitors, for the purpose of being forced to reveal the names of his associates in the secret societies. These persons could not be discovered from his papers that had been seized, in consequence of the precaution he had taken of erasing from them all the signatures and names by which any one might have been implicated. Persisting in his denial of any knowledge of them, he was at length subjected to the torture, which, however, did not conquer his resolution, although its effects upon

his system were such as to bring him to the verge of the grave. The following is his account of the torture-scene.—

“I was hurried away to the farther end of the room, the jailer and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in raising me from the ground, they placed under my arm-pits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended; after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, whilst the left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my hand open in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran as far as the shoulder, keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported; so that I shortly remained without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty.

“Having remained a short time in this painful position, the unmerciful tribunal returned to their former charges. Zorilla, with a tremulous voice, that seemed to evince his thirst for blood and vengeance, repeated the first of those he had just read, namely, whether I did not belong to a society whose object was to overthrow our holy religion, and the august throne of our Catholic sovereign? I replied, that it was impossible I should plead guilty to an accusation of that nature; ‘without any subterfuge, say whether it is so,’ he added in an angry tone.”

“‘It is not, Sir,’ I replied. The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on the edge of a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt by degrees an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder, a general convulsion throughout my frame, and a cold sweat overspreading my face. The interrogatory continued; but Zorilla’s question of ‘Is it so? Is it so?’ were the only words that struck my ear amidst the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away, and heard no more the voices of those cannibals.”

As soon as he had sufficiently recovered from the extreme illness which was the consequence of the torture he had suffered, he began to think of some plan of escape, which the interest evinced for him by a person connected with the establishment, gave him some hope of accomplishing. This person was a young female named Ramona, the adopted daughter of Don Marcellino, one of the keepers of the prison, whose conduct towards him was such as completely to verify the lines of the poet with regard to woman;—

“When care and anguish wring the brow,
A ministering angel, thou.”

Her employment in the menial offices of the prison afforded her an opportunity of conveying to him an intimation of her compassion for his misfortunes, and she first did so by leaving the upper part of a drop ear-ring in his bed, which it was her duty to arrange, he being removed to an adjoining cell, while his own was put in order. This sign he quickly understood, and answered by winding some of his hair round the ear-ring, which he left in the place where he had found it. On returning to his dungeon after its next cleansing, the ear-ring had disappeared, but he found his watch, which usually hung at the head of his bed, under his pillow, and observed that it had been made to point to the wrong hour. The meaning of this artifice could not be

mistaken, and the next day, at the time which it indicated, Don Juan heard a slight noise, accompanied by the words "quick! quick!" He immediately placed himself near the small opening of the interior door of his dungeon, which was on a line with that of the exterior, and caught an indistinct glimpse of the face of Ramona, who expressed her desire to be of service to him, telling him that one of the keepers, Don Juanito, was confined by sickness to his bed, and that there would be, consequently, a less strict watch kept until he recovered.

By the assistance of this, to him, angel of mercy, he contrived to carry on a correspondence with some friends in the city, to whom Ramona conveyed his notes, bringing theirs to him in return, and to plan with them a mode of escape. This part of the narrative is that which we have found the greatest difficulty in "swallowing," to use a vulgar, though expressive term; for the whole story is told too much in the style in which a similar adventure would be related in a work of romance, to command implicit belief.—

"At length the hour for the execution of my plan drawing near, I listened attentively through the opening in the door, till hearing the distant noise of bolts, I retreated towards my bed. As soon as Don Marcellino entered, I advanced towards him, extinguished the light, and pushing him violently to the farthest corner of the dungeon, flew to the door, and rushing through, shut it upon him and drew the bolt, at the same moment that he, recovering himself, threatened my life. Once in the passage, I groped along in complete darkness; but the astounding cries of the new prisoner echoed so loudly through those vaults, that fearing they might be heard, I no sooner arrived at the third door of that labyrinth, than, locking it after me, I took out its ponderous key, with which I armed myself for want of a better weapon.

"I passed the dungeon of the other prisoner confined in those passages, who, far from imagining the scene that was acting, mistook my steps for those of the jailer. Following my way at random, I twice lost myself in the various windings, and a thousand times did I curse the obscurity which threatened to frustrate all my hopes. At length, after groping about for seven or eight minutes, which appeared an eternity to me, I reached the last staircase, from which I could distinguish the glimmerings of a light. As I ascended the stairs, I grasped the key in the manner of a pistol, and soon after found myself at the threshold of a door wide open, that led to an outer kitchen, in the middle of which hung a lantern. I judged by this that I was already out of the prison; but uncertain what direction to follow, and hearing the voices of people in some part of the house, I stood still for a moment, and then hastened to the kitchen to look for a hatchet, or some other weapon that might serve me in case of meeting opposition.

"On entering, the first object that presented itself was Ramona, who stood pale and breathless, with a countenance in which astonishment was blended with anxiety and alarm. 'What pistol is that?—where is my master?' she exclaimed, after a moment's silence, raising her clasped hands towards heaven.

"I calmed her apprehensions, by showing her the key, when, immediately recovering her presence of mind, she drew from her bosom the notes I had given her, and returning them to me, pointed to a court which led to the outer door, saying; 'That is the way to the street. My mistress and her guest are in the saloon: you hear their voices. This is the very hour when she expects the arrival of some friends, and I must immediately call out, because they know I must necessarily see you before you get to the court. For heaven's sake hasten away, for I can render you no farther assistance.' Saying this, she pressed my hands in hers with deep emotion, and I hurried towards the court. As the remainder

of my way was also involved in darkness, I lost some minutes in finding the right direction to the door, when the rustling of the bell-wire served to guide me to it. Here I heard the voices of some persons outside, who certainly did not expect to meet with such a porter.

"Meantime Ramona, who was to open the door, on hearing the bell ring, began screaming for assistance, as if she had been hurt by some one passing in great haste. The ladies, alarmed, joined their cries to her's, and I opened the door amidst this confusion, pushed down the person just entering, and reached the street, feeling as if I breathed a second life.

Following the direction pointed out to me by my friends, and avoiding the approach of some of the persons I saw lurking about the Inquisition, I turned the corner of that building, and met a tall man muffled up in his cloak, who, either having forgotten the watchword agreed upon, or recognising me at the first moment, exclaimed, 'Van Halen ! Juan ! is it you ?'

" 'Yes, it is,' I cried, my heart leaping with joy at hearing the voice of a friend. As soon as I returned this answer, he gave a shrill whistle, and suddenly I was surrounded by several other friends, among whom I recognised two old comrades of mine, whom I did not suppose so interested in my destiny. One took off my old cap, and placed his laced cocked-hat on my head ; another gave me a cloak, which, he said, had been purposely made for me ; a third desired me to follow him and fear nothing, for they would all lose their lives sooner than I should be re-taken. They were all military men, whose high-wrought enthusiasm had led them to appear on this occasion in full uniform and decorations ; and there is little doubt, that, had I been pursued by my keepers, they would all have perished at their hands. I followed my friends, enveloped in my cloak, though still with the green slippers I wore in the prison. On crossing over the street of San Bernardo, which runs parallel with the prison, one of those who accompanied me took the lead to guide us ; another remained with me ; and the rest dispersed gradually as we advanced. On arriving at the street of Tudescos, we stopped before a large newly-built house, the principal door of which, contrary to the custom of the country, stood a little open. Having entered, and reached the first landing place, we met a large masquerading party, who were just coming out of the principal rooms. Although wrapped up in my cloak, and my face well concealed, I was afraid that my slippers, attracting their attention, might lead to a discovery ; and I hinted to my friends that this house did not appear to me the most suitable for a place of concealment. They were, however, of a different opinion, and we continued ascending the stairs till we reached the attics, where I found the asylum prepared for me intrusted to the care of one of the Spanish heroines, who had figured during the last war with the French, in her native province, Biscay. She was still young, had an animated countenance, and the clear complexion of the women of her province. Though she had been previously warned of my arrival, as she was ignorant of most of the circumstances that led me there, she seemed a good deal surprised at seeing me appear in that singular dress and long beard."

The fugitive soon afterwards effected his escape to France, whence he proceeded to London, where, having resolved to enter if possible into the service of Russia, he had an interview with some gentlemen of the Russian legation, by whom he was furnished with letters calculated to assist him in attaining his object. He then travelled to St. Petersburg, in November, 1818, and here he met with the greatest hospitality from the persons to whom he carried letters. After various delays and difficulties, he gained the end for which he had gone there, by being appointed a major in a regiment of the emperor's dragoons. As this regiment formed a part of the army in Georgia, under the command of General Yermelow, which was employed in repressing the

turbulence of the mountaineers who inhabited the northern side of the Caucasus, he soon repaired to that province to enter upon his duties. Here he was employed in various ways; and, at length, in a battle which took place between part of the Russian forces, commanded by General Madatoff, and the army of a rebellious Khan, in which the latter was totally defeated, he distinguished himself greatly by his courage and conduct. The reward which he received, and the singular denouement of his military career in Russia, will be learnt from the following extract:—

“The Emperor Alexander, in acknowledgment of the services lately rendered by the troops of Georgia, conferred on them the title of Army of the Caucasus, and decorations, promotions, and favours, on all those who had distinguished themselves in the expedition to Kazykoumyk, according to the report which the general-in-chief had given of their respective merits, and in which, I positively know, I was not forgotten. These imperial favours arrived at Teflis by an extraordinary courier. But the testimony that fell to my lot was of a very singular nature.

“His Imperial Majesty, unable to disguise his displeasure at the successful attempt made by my oppressed countrymen to cast off the yoke which for six long years had paralyzed their energies, and reduced them to the same state of degradation as that into which the serfs of the empire were sunk, vented his spleen on me, and gave orders to the general-in-chief for my immediate dismissal from the service, and for my quitting the Russian dominions under an escort that should be made responsible for the prompt and entire execution of his wishes.

“Such was the reward which the Emperor Alexander thought proper to adjudge to one who had aided in planting his standard on the towers of his enemies’ ramparts!”

We must confess, that it appears to us hardly credible that the reasons stated in the above extract were the only ones which caused his dismissal from the emperor’s service—such an act of gratuitous injustice, of flagrant ingratitude even, is altogether inconsistent with the character generally attributed to Alexander.

In pursuance of the emperor’s orders, Van Halen was conducted into Austria, whence he passed into Spain, where the change that had taken place in the government allowed him to appear. It is with his return to his native country that his Narrative concludes, but it is known, that after the overthrow of the Spanish constitution, and the dispersion of the Cortes, he sought refuge in the United States, with many of his compatriots, and resided for some time in New-York. His wife, it is said, a sister of the celebrated General Quiroga, lived in Philadelphia for a considerable period, in a state of extreme poverty.

Since his departure from our country, the first public intelligence received concerning him, is that of his recent elevation to the command of the revolutionary forces in Brussels. It is a curious fact, that the news of that appointment was brought to England in a steam packet, the *Ramona*, which was named after

the generous female who so materially aided his escape from the prison of the Inquisition at Madrid.

Such are the principal events in the varied career of Don Juan Van Halen, down to the present moment. He is in the prime of life, and is said to be a man of fine appearance and gallant bearing. His character is one that may be easily understood—it is that of an *adventurer*, one, indeed, of spirit, energy, and talent, but still an adventurer. For men of his stamp, a revolution in the country where they may happen to be residing, is a fortunate chance, of which they avail themselves mainly to advance their own interests; especially if the country be one which furnishes few native inhabitants, in whose military experience confidence can be reposed at the commencement of intestine commotions. This is the case with the Netherlands; but, according to recent information, Van Halen's command has been taken from him, and a liberal pension decreed as a reward for his services in the revolution. We must confess that this arrangement, by which a native Belgian has been placed at the head of the revolutionary forces, appears to us preferable. While more honour will accrue to the country, from being principally indebted to one of her own sons for her independence, greater reliance may, at the same time, be placed upon the guidance of such a chief, —supposing him, of course, to be endowed with equal qualifications,—than upon the efforts of a foreigner, who could scarcely be expected to feel, for the ultimate success of the cause in which he had embarked, that intense interest which patriotism alone can inspire.—“*Qui prend le gouvernail, doit connoître l'écueil*” is the just remark of a French poet, and it is only the lynx-eye in which glows—

“The inextinguishable spark that fires
The soul of patriots,”

that can enable the revolutionary helmsman to discover all the shoals and rocks which threaten the safety of the vessel he has been called upon to steer.

ART. VIII.—MIRABEAU.

- 1.—*Œuvres de Mirabeau; précédées d'une notice. Par M. MERILHOU.* Paris: 13 vols. 8vo.—*Works of Mirabeau; to which is prefixed a Biographical notice.* By M. MERILHOU. Paris: 13 vols. 8vo.
- 2.—*Collection complète des Travaux de M. Mirabeau l'aîné, à l'Assemblée Nationale.* Paris: 5 vols. 8vo.—*Complete collection of the Speeches and Addresses of M. Mirabeau, the elder, in the National Assembly.* Paris: 5 vols. 8vo.

THE recent revolution in France, has caused the first great agitator and orator in the former convulsion, to rise again in our memory, and has fixed our attention upon volumes concerning him, which had long kept, unmolested, their position on our shelves. We have taken them down; read them anew with fresh interest and profit, and in offering to the American public a sketch of *Mirabeau's* life and character, we feel most the difficulty of abstaining from details and quotations, which we deem highly interesting, but which would require an inordinate number of our pages. A multitude of curious and striking references, or *rapprochemens*, might be made from his career and opinions, to the late and present course of events on the same theatre. As yet, no one of similar intellectual power, or correspondent influence, has appeared in the new drama; while the aims and doctrines in relation to the political constitution fittest for their country, of those who assumed the lead and ministry on the expulsion of Charles X., bear a close affinity with what may be styled his ultimate creed and purpose.

We are acquainted with but a single good biographical account of Mirabeau, and that is the one by M. Mérilhou, prefixed to the best collection of his works. This biographer and editor is an eminent advocate in the courts of Paris, and a counsellor of state; he writes like a man of letters; he has employed severe pains to be correct in his narrative, and has studied deeply, and with much fondness, the genius and productions of his hero. We may throw aside most of his reflections and glosses, and allow the facts which he reports to operate of themselves in deciding our minds upon the merits of conduct and character. Mirabeau, the elder, was an extraordinary man, gifted with splendid abilities and signal energies,—whose fortunes and performances were fitted to affect in his favour the imagination of almost any one of his countrymen inclined to *liberalism*; so far, that we may not be surprised nor indignant if his biographer should have forgiven or insensibly palliated his enormous vices and excesses. In some instances there is a curious and melancholy contrast be-

tween the facts which M. Mérilhou admits, and assists to prove, and the lenient or utterly repugnant interpretations which are given to them by a writer of so much general honesty and respectable sentiment.

Honore-Gabriel de Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau, was born on the 9th March 1749, at Nemours, in France. His family was of high patrician rank, a circumstance of which,—like Lord Byron,—he was not a little proud and tenacious, notwithstanding the latitude of his political faith. His father, the Marquis of Mirabeau, acquired much celebrity as a writer on Public Economy, by two works, one entitled *l'Ami des Hommes*—The Friend of Man—the other, *Theory of Taxation*. The Marquis was for some time extremely popular, from the zeal with which he assailed the abuses in the administration of the government. He was regarded as an apostle of liberty, but appears to have been a cruel despot with his wife and children, whom he caused to be imprisoned at different times. It was repeatedly stated by his son, that he inflicted upon his family no less than fifty-four *lettres de cachet*. The biographer of the son accuses the father, besides, of parsimony, that proved highly injurious.

Honore-Gabriel was educated for the profession of arms,—he pursued with great ardour the studies proper for it, until his seventeenth year, when he entered a royal regiment as sub-lieutenant, and received a mark of distinction, implying the royal acknowledgment of the antiquity of his noble line. At eighteen, he had contracted debts, and conceived a violent passion for a young female whom he resolved to marry. His father at first adopted the idea of sending him to the Dutch colony of Surinam, of which the climate would have soon extinguished his lamp of life; but, for this harsh scheme was substituted a year's confinement in the fortress of the isle of Ré. It was at this period that the count composed his first work, the *Essay on Despotism*, which was published in Holland in 1776. At the expiration of the year, he obtained permission to proceed to Corsica, where he took part in the war waged between the French and the Corsicans, and obtained as the reward of his gallantry a captaincy of dragoons. He wrote at the same time a political and statistical account of the island.

At the end of the year 1769, he returned to France, was reconciled with his father, and became the steward or manager of the vast landed property of the Marquis. In this capacity, he continued to act for several years, dividing his leisure between application to books, and the indulgence of a keen appetite for pleasure. He borrowed and squandered large sums on his own account; and his parents being engaged in a scandalous public quarrel, he sided with his mother against his father, to whom he thus, of course, rendered himself more and more obnoxious. A

shrewd uncle managed, however, to procure for him a wife, a young and rich heiress, the daughter of the President of the Parliament of Provence. The "happy pair" took up their residence in the chateau of the Mirabeau family; harmony reigned between them *for a year*; a son was born; but, in the second year, the debts of the count amounted to the very large sum of 160,000 francs. The father-in-law would have lightened his load; his father deemed it best to lay a legal interdict upon him, by the operation of which, whatever property he possessed was given in trust to his father, in lieu of an annuity of a thousand crowns. This provision could not suffice for a spendthrift. Additional debts were contracted, attended soon by new embarrassments.

In 1774, his father caused a royal order to be issued, by which he was exiled to *Manosque*, a little town of Provence. About the same period he quarrelled with his wife, whom he accused of infidelity, and who retorted the charge. Having played truant from Manosque, and subjected himself to fine and imprisonment for buffeting a man of rank, he gave his father an opportunity of visiting him with further punishment. By virtue of another *lettre de cachet*, he was shut up in the castle d'*If*. His wife, whom he sent to Paris in order to plead for him with the prime-minister, *M. de Maurepas*, instead of executing this commission, repaired to her father's residence, and thus finally separated from her husband. In the castle d'*If*, he was detected in a love-intrigue, which afforded a reason or pretext for another *lettre de cachet*, that removed him to the fortress of Joux, near the frontiers of Switzerland. Here, another and much more important amour determined his fate—a very severe fate—for a number of years. Near this prison began his acquaintance with his *Sophie*, a lady as renowned in real life, as Rousseau's *Julie* in romance.

The governor of the fort, after some time, allowed his prisoner to seek recreation in the adjoining town of Pontarlier. One of the most distinguished noblemen and public officers of this place, *M. de Monnier*, had married when upwards of sixty years of age, a girl, Sophie de Ruffey, of the most respectable connexions, and very attractive person and manners. She was an exemplary wife, until Mirabeau, when a guest of her husband, conceived a passion for her, to which she yielded after a struggle of six months. Their mutual attachment soon became notorious, and it happened that the commander of the fort was Mirabeau's disappointed rival. Hence, a rigorous confinement—a denunciation of his conduct to his father. Soon, he planned an elopement with Sophie—both being married; he twenty-eight years of age; she twenty-two—both destitute of pecuniary

means. They fled—were separated—contrived to meet again, and finally sought refuge, together, in Holland.

At Amsterdam, Mirabeau was obliged to labour incessantly for the booksellers, in order to support his idolized companion. They passed six months undisturbed ; but, notwithstanding the use of a feigned name, and total seclusion, they were discovered by the police, acting under the instructions of his father. Apprehending this result, they had resolved to emigrate to America. Before this project could be executed, Sophie was seized by the authorities of Amsterdam, to be restored to her relatives in France. Mirabeau himself might have escaped. His honour, as he thought, and his feelings, required that he should share her doom. They proceeded as prisoners to Paris. The lady, after giving birth to a child in a private establishment of the police, was consigned to a convent by a *lettre de cachet*. Mirabeau was locked up in the tower of Vincennes, where he remained in the most painful duration, from the 8th of June, 1777, until the 13th of December, 1780. In this situation, with scarce enough of light in his cell to read or write, often destitute of what elsewhere would have been deemed necessary clothing, restricted as to quantity of paper and books, he nevertheless endited able and voluminous works, and greatly enriched his understanding. To obtain paper, he rifled the books which were lent to him, of their blank leaves ; to accomplish the more with his pen, he contracted his autograph to the smallest character : fearing that he would become blind, from the want of light in his labours, and the want of sleep produced by chagrin, he devoted an hour a day to composition with his eyes shut. Some of the productions which he sold to the booksellers during this imprisonment, are of a very licentious cast. His biographer deems them pardonable, because, writing for bread, he was obliged to consult the public appetite !

It was in the tower of Vincennes that he composed his Essay on *Lettres de Cachets* and State Prisons, a work recommended by exceedingly eloquent and forcible passages, and well adapted to the times in which he was destined to ride triumphantly in the whirlwind. But the most remarkable of his solitary performances is the long series of his copious letters to *Sophie*, with whom he was permitted to correspond, on condition that what might be written on either side, should be submitted to the inspection of certain public functionaries, and after having been perused by all parties, deposited in the police office of Paris. It is impossible to conceive any expression of feeling, more passionate—any action of the soul in the recollection or manifestation of love, more intense and effective—than we find them in this correspondence. Sentiment is blended with literary and ethical opinion—all topics are handled with power

and vehemence; sophisms against domestic duty and conjugal faith abound; and a depraved imagination is indulged in a strain of grossness, which argues that Sophie herself,—in his opinion at least,—must have lost all delicacy of love and refinement of taste. The volumes of his letters have been more read, and have remained much longer in vogue, than any of his other works.

Before Mirabeau was liberated from Vincennes, both his son by his wife, and his daughter by *Sophie*, died—a mortality which, according to his biographer, greatly aggravated the distress of the unhappy prisoner. We might conclude, however, from the narrative, that he was chiefly, if not wholly, occupied with schemes for his enlargement. It occurred to him that he might achieve this object by seeking a reconciliation with his wife. On this head, he consulted—*Sophie!* and she advised him to make the experiment. The biographer is in raptures with the generosity of her conduct, particularly as she had declined an overture from her husband to return to him, on the most liberal terms for her comfort and reputation. Looking only to the vows and homage which Mirabeau had addressed to her from his cell, we should have supposed him willing to endure any prolongation of his imprisonment, or even a hundred deaths, rather than renounce the most remote chance of being reunited with her, or yoke himself with any other of her sex.

His first application to his wife was repelled; a second letter, more urgent and submissive, induced her to promise that she would interfere for his release, provided he would engage to keep at such a distance as to relieve her from all apprehension of his visits or importunities. To this proviso he humbly acceded. His prison-bounds were at first widened; and at length, on the 13th of December, 1780, he was suffered to issue forth into the world, still subject, by order of the king, to the authority of his father. It was said that he attempted, very soon after, to carry off Sophie from the convent in which she was detained. But it appears to us that he showed more anxiety to get possession of his wife and her fortune. The unhappy mistress had permission to join her relatives at Dijon, on the death of her husband, *Monnier*. Some years afterwards, she accepted a tender of marriage, but the new lover having given occasion for jealous suspicion, she committed suicide by inhaling the vapour of charcoal, in the year 1786, at the age of twenty-six. Mirabeau never saw her from the period of his incarceration in 1777.

He was obliged to repair to Pontarlier, in order to bring about a compromise with regard to the heavy penalties which the courts had decreed against him as a ravisher; and it was not without the most laborious efforts that he extricated himself on this occasion. His next arduous enterprise was to accomplish

by legal process a restitution of conjugal rights. The struggle before the courts and the parliaments called forth all his powers, and attracted the attention of all Provence. He failed in the last resort; the only result of his efforts was a high reputation for oratory. His bad character, and the charges which he had formerly made against his wife, enabled her to triumph. In the course of his pleadings he declaimed admirably about the sacredness of the conjugal tie, the mutual obligations of husband and wife, the interests of society in connexion with the institution of marriage, and other kindred topics of public and private virtue, with which the tenor of his own way and of his correspondence with Sophie, was at the broadest variance.

On his return to Paris, Mirabeau, possessing no property of his own, and supplied with no money by his father, was obliged to rely upon his pen for subsistence. What it produced for his purse would have been sufficient for the wants of a prudent and regular man; but fell far short of the exigencies of a dissolute life. Severe distress overtook him;—he formed a number of extensive literary projects, with which he importuned the booksellers in vain. In 1784, he wrote a pamphlet against the establishment of the *Society of Cincinnati* in this country, which then occasioned much idle alarm to some of our own patriots, and to many of the liberals in Europe. This performance he carried to London, where it was particularly patronised by Dr. Price. It was the first that he published under his own name. He remained for some months in the British capital, engaged in planning literary enterprises, one of which was a periodical review, to embrace an analysis of all the most important new works in every department of human knowledge. He embarked in the famous controversy concerning the opening of the Scheldt, and put forth an able tract against that measure, in coincidence or compliance with the views of the courts of Versailles and St. James. In Paris, in 1785, he took part in the violent, but now forgotten discussions concerning Turgot's *Caisse d'escompte* and the Madrid Bank of St. Charles. His publications being opportune, bold, and accusatory, drew much attention, and gave considerable importance to the writer. *Beaumarchais* was his principal antagonist—and one whose pungent wit and personal invective it was not easy to resist. In 1786, M. de Calonne and M. de Vergennes became his patrons; they sent him in that year to Prussia as a secret political agent. At Berlin, he acted the part of a spy and reporter, with great address, diligence, and profligacy. His confidential correspondence with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs was published some time afterwards, by himself, in order to replenish his exhausted purse. It is seasoned with scandalous and doubtful anecdotes of private life, unworthy of the instructive and spirited political context.

His volumes entitled *The Prussian Monarchy*, and *Secret History and Anecdotes of the Court of Berlin*, acquired wide celebrity. The parliament of Paris, at the suggestion of the ministry, ordered the Correspondence to be suppressed, and burnt by the hands of the common executioner.

We may pass over Mirabeau's zealous intervention in the critical affairs of the Dutch in 1787, and exhibit him at once in the situation in which he preluded, we may say, the mighty revolution that later received from him an impulse too potent for his ultimate wishes. The domestic politics of France had become a primary concern. The Assembly of the Notables was opened at Versailles in 1787. Financial questions arose, of deep public interest. In a pamphlet concerning them, Mirabeau called for a political *constitution* as the remedy for peculation, jobbing, and waste. He attacked Necker with the utmost virulence, and as his biographer acknowledges, with "revolting injustice." His pamphlets were proscribed by an order in council. About the same period, he published an Essay upon Milton and his works, in which, in the republican spirit of his author, he traced what he styled the true theory of royalty, and the duties of kings and magistrates. But his main ambition at this period was to become a member of the *States General* of the kingdom, by an election in *Provence*, where a convocation of the three orders was called, each order being commissioned to choose its representatives. Some of the noblesse took offence, because the *gentilshommes*, (gentry,) were associated with them in the choice, and a double representation was allowed to the third order, by the new regulations of the government. The malcontents resolved to protest. Mirabeau was summoned among the gentry to the convocation. In the first sitting, 3d of January, 1789, he vehemently denounced a protest of the kind, which was, however, adopted by the chamber of the nobility. He opposed the *exclusives*, moreover, in other points, and particularly that of eliminating from the chamber such of the gentry as did not then possess fiefs. A large number, along with himself, were in this predicament. He frustrated, besides, a plan for cajoling the *tiers etats* into a coalition with the possessors of fiefs, by which the rights of the Provencal people would have been sacrificed, and the royal regulations defeated. This course rendered him so obnoxious to the aristocratic noblesse, that they voted his exclusion from the chamber. In withdrawing, he indignantly reminded them of the evils which the Roman patricians had incurred by their treatment of the Gracchi. Persecuted thus by the nobles, he became the idol of the people of Provence; he made a triumphant entry into Aix and Marseilles, the two largest cities, which vied with each other in lavishing public honours upon the champion of equal rights. When,

soon after, very alarming tumults took place in both, the royal authorities had recourse to him as a mediator—an office in which he was immediately successful.

The electoral body of Aix selected him as their first deputy to the States General at Paris, whither he repaired to take his seat, aspiring to the highest distinction, and meditating the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. He carried with him, however, the reputation of a daring demagogue and universal libertine. So strong were the prepossessions against him, that when he first entered the hall of the sittings of the Tiers Etat, a reproving murmur (*murmure improbable*) arose on every side. He understood it, and returned a haughty and ominous scowl. His early and striking adventures, his dissolute habits, his voluminous and influential writings, his recent struggles and splendid popularity in Provence, caused the *Plebeian-Count*, as he was then nicknamed, to be an object of particular notice and dread for a large part of the assembly. They felt that eloquence was indeed a power—to be distrusted in a man of his description, who had already announced to the inhabitants of Provence that he regarded a complaining people as ever in the right,—that he could see, unmoved, “the convulsions of expiring prejudices,”—that France was to be regenerated—that a great day was about to dawn for her and for Europe—that the nation, seconded by the sound members of two of the orders in the States General, would determine the great contest which he foresaw undismayed.

The day after that of the opening of the States General, Mirabeau issued the first number of a Parliamentary Journal, in which an account was to be given of the debates, together with suitable reflections and advice for the people. In less than a week, the list of subscribers amounted to *six thousand*. But the ministry, dreading his pen, suppressed the journal by an order in council, 7th of May, 1789. The body of the electors of the city of Paris, then in session, passed a resolve, that the suppression was illegal, and a denial of that liberty of the press which all France demanded. Mirabeau only changed the title of his enterprise into *Letters to Constituents*, and afterwards into the *Courrier de Provence*;—in this guise the work had vast circulation and effect. When the decisive question occurred,—(in which the whole revolution was said to be involved)—of the union of the several orders in one national assembly, he embraced, as might be supposed, the affirmative, which he sustained, or rather, finally carried, by a masterly speech. He laid down at once the principles of the representative system and of a limited monarchy, confessing, indeed, that the French people were yet far from understanding the doctrine of their rights and the sound theory of liberty.

“N'allez pas croire que le peuple s'intéresse aux discussions métaphysiques qui nous agitent. Le peuple est trop loin encore de connoître le système de ses droits, et la saine théorie de la liberté. Le peuple veut des soulagemens, parce qu'il n'a plus de forces pour souffrir; le peuple secoue l'oppression, parce qu'il ne peut plus respirer sous l'horrible faix dont on l'écrase; mais il demande seulement de ne payer que ce qu'il peut, et de porter paisiblement sa misère.”

This was a true account at the time. It is now the boast of France that the nation is greatly changed and enlightened; that the theory of freedom has become familiar and dear to all—that it is not enough to have present ease, but the future must be rendered honourable and sure.

When the constituent assembly was formed by this signal victory over the orders of the nobility and clergy, the ministry resolved to defeat the result. A royal order was issued, forbidding that body to sit before a certain day, under the pretext that repairs were making in the hall. This occasioned the famous meeting in the *Tennis Court*, at which the assembly swore not to separate until they had completed the constitution of the kingdom. On the 22d of June, when they organized themselves in the church of St. Louis, the king in person commanded them to divide, and each order to repair to the hall which had been prepared for it. The representatives of the noblesse, and a part of those of the clergy, followed the king, who quitted the church as soon as he had uttered his command—*Je vous ordonne*. The members of the assembly, left behind, remained for some time silent and motionless, seemingly uncertain or irresolute. It was one of those moments which decide the fate of empires. The ministers, when a quarter of an hour had elapsed, sent the king's officer, the grand master of the ceremonies, to inquire of the president or speaker of the assembly whether he had heard the orders of the king. If the speaker had then adjourned the meeting,—if the assembly had risen,—all was over, and the ministry triumphed; but he replied that he would take the sense of the body, and at this instant, Mirabeau rose, and thundered to the messenger—“Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we will not quit our place but by the force of bayonets.” *Allez dire à votre maître que nous sommes ici par la volonté du peuple, et que nous ne quitterons notre place que par la force des baionnettes*. This celebrated apostrophe produced an immediate and passionate cry from all the deputies—“such is the sense of the assembly.” Mirabeau followed up this declaration by proposing a law, which was adopted by an immense majority, to guaranty the personal inviolability of the members. Thenceforth, he took the lead in the assembly. It may be agreeable to our readers to have an original account of this scene, as given in the *Travaux*, by a member of that body.—

"Depuis le 20, la salle nationale étoit fermée aux communes, sous le prétexte des préparatifs nécessaires à la tenue d'une séance royale.

"Réfugiés dans le jeu de paume, les représentans de la nation y avoient solennellement juré de ne jamais se séparer, et de se rassembler par-tout où les circonstances l'exigeroient, jusqu'à ce que la constitution du royaume et la régénération publique, fussent établies et affermies.

"Le 21, rassemblés dans l'église Saint-Louis, ils y avoient reçu la majorité du clergé.

"Les portes de la salle nationale furent ouvertes le 23. Les députés de tous les ordres s'y rendirent; le roi y parut dans un appareil qui pouvoit bien avoir quelque chose de fastueux, mais qui, à coup sûr, n'avoit rien d'imposant.

"Le roi termina son discours en disant: *je vous ORDONNE, MM., de vous séparer tout de suite, et de vous rendre demain matin, chacun dans les chambres affectées à votre ordre, pour y reprendre vos séances. J'ORDONNE en conséquence, au grand-maître des cérémonies, de faire préparer les salles.*

"La majorité de la noblesse, et la minorité du clergé obéirent aux ordres du roi, et sortirent avec lui.

"Les membres de l'assemblée nationale restèrent immobiles, et gardèrent pendant quelques minutes, un silence plus menaçant et plus terrible, que ne l'avoient été tous les *je veux*, tous les *j'ordonne* de la cour.

"M. de Brezé, grand-maître des cérémonies parut, et s'adressant au président, il lui rappella, de la part du roi, l'ordre de désemparer.

"M. DE MIRABEAU, (s'adressant à M. de Brezé.)

"Les communes de France ont résolu de délibérer: Nous avons entendu les intentions qu'on a suggérées au roi, et vous qui ne sauriez être son organe auprès de l'assemblée nationale, vous qui n'avez ici, ni place, ni voix, ni droit de parler, vous n'êtes pas fait pour nous rappeler son discours: allez dire à votre maître que nous sommes ici par la puissance du peuple, et qu'on ne nous en arrachera que par la puissance des baionettes."

"Il est difficile de peindre l'enthousiasme qu'excita la réponse héroïque de M. Mirabeau."

We do not mean to pursue the history of the portentous revolution which Mirabeau seemed to arrest or advance at will, until near the epoch of his decease; nor to relate the struggles between the assembly and the court, and his wrestlings with such competitors as Maury, Barnave, Duport, Lameth,—with the leaders of the ultra-royalists, and the zealous republicans by whom he was almost equally feared and assailed. Several of his addresses to the king, and of his elaborate speeches, and a number of his oratorical sallies, are deemed the finest specimens of rhetoric—ranked among the noblest monuments of French eloquence—*parmi les plus beaux titres de gloire de l'éloquence française.* He first called for the formation of the National Guard—he resisted and reprobated the continuation of the popular riots in Paris and Versailles. He exclaimed—"Let us put an end to this formidable popular dictatorship, as dangerous for the public liberty as the plots of its enemies. Society would be soon dissolved, if the multitude, getting accustomed to blood and disorder, should set themselves above the magistrates, and brave the authority of the laws. The people would thus only throw themselves into the abyss of slavery, instead of rushing on to freedom:—in the midst of anarchy, even a despot seems to be a saviour—universal danger often rallies all to absolute rule."

The lessons of moderation which he gave at first, to both the people and the assembly, strikingly suit the recent situation of the Parisians and the Chamber of Deputies.

Mirabeau early apprehended the republican tendency of things;—he was, perhaps, but from selfish motives, sincere in the wish which he proclaimed, to save the monarchy. We say *perhaps*, because the violent and democratic cast of many of his speeches and transactions against the court—his connexion with the clubs and the republican zealots, and his gross venality with the royal ministers, render his steadfastness and sincerity in any avowed object or main end, highly questionable. In August, 1789, he caused an intimation to be given to the queen, of his readiness to employ his influence on the side of the monarchy. The overture was treated with a foolish disdain. Though he hated Necker, Mirabeau supported some of his plans of finance; though the noblesse and ultra-royalists viewed him with undissembled abhorrence, he contended for the freedom of emigration;—though the court persisted in frowning upon him, he delivered a most able speech in favour of the *veto*, declaring that he would rather live at Constantinople, if it were not conceded to the king, and that he knew nothing more terrible than the sovereign aristocracy of some hundreds of persons combined as a legislature, who might resolve to be a permanent body. He opposed, nevertheless, the establishment of two chambers, or the introduction of an hereditary senate into the system.

In 1789, he was suspected of having entered into a scheme for giving the throne to the Duke of Orleans, in consequence of the efforts which he made to obtain a law by which the reversion of it should be secured to the house of Orleans, to the exclusion of the Spanish Bourbons. After the horrible transactions of the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles, he was plausibly accused of having instigated them. On this head his biographer enters into a long detail of facts, in order to clear him from the charge. But he shared the odium with his supposed principal, the Duke of Orleans. When Lafayette drove this prince to England,—much against the will, and to the great displeasure of Mirabeau,—the latter took a more decided course in behalf of the monarchy, or rather sought another source of pecuniary supplies. In November, 1789, he had his first interview with the minister *Montmorin*, who felt the importance or necessity of attaching some of the leaders of the popular party to the interests of the monarch. Mirabeau and Lafayette were the most desirable conquests. Lafayette's character and deportment rendered all attempts upon him hopeless, and none were made at the time. It was decided to grant to Mirabeau the largesses which he required; and it was understood that he would be even called into the cabinet. As deputies could not be minis-

ters, and it was essential he should remain in the Assembly for the further protection of the crown, he himself moved that ministers should have seats in the house. His latent purpose was discerned by most of the members; the *côté droit* deprecated his accession to the cabinet, because it would place the royal power in the hands of a chief of the revolution; some of the *côté gauche* were apprized of his intercourse with Montmorin, and regarded him as a deserter; while others were averse to any addition to his personal influence, doubtful how it might be used or abused. Both parties were suspicious of being betrayed, as both *were*, in our opinion. In spite of his ingenious and earnest arguments, the Assembly rejected his plan, and decreed that the king should choose no minister except from their body. On the important question of the sale of the property of the clergy, he adopted the modification—of a provision of an equitable nature for the whole sacerdotal corps, and particularly the curates. His plan, submitted in November, 1789, for the division of France into departments, was well conceived in every respect. He included in it two assemblies, one for the administration of the local or peculiar concerns of the department, the other for the election of representatives to the national legislature.

At the beginning of 1790, the revolutionary storm was blowing with irresistible violence. The throne and all the old institutions rocked to their foundations. Mirabeau towered at this period, having still the popular gale in his favour, and being of a mental temperament equal to any crisis. But, however liberal in his general doctrines, he was not of the *republican* majority;—he had a strong presentiment of the excesses to which the prevailing theories tended;—privately he devoted his thoughts to the preservation of some remnant at least of royalty. In January, 1790, he submitted to M. Montmorin an elaborate scheme for this purpose. Its leading feature was the substitution of *Monsieur*, since Louis XVIII., for his brother, on the throne. The new king was to declare his adherence to the revolution, to abandon all the feudal claims of the old régime, and to select counsellors who had not been violent partisans. This plan was found in his hand-writing, with the approval of Louis XVI. stamped upon it. The reason of its being set aside is not known. When Petion proposed the rejection of the phrase *Louis by the Grace of God*, Mirabeau contended that it should be retained; for, “if kings were such by the grace of God, the people were sovereigns by the same grace.”

At this time, and afterwards, however, he frequently opposed the court-party, and seemed to throw himself among the republicans, whether from policy, rhetorical impetuosity, or occasional disgust, it is not easy to determine. One of the most

memorable debates which took place in the National Assembly, was that of May, 1790, upon the question—to which branch of the government the power of peace and war should be allotted. Mirabeau's faculties and influence were never exerted with more éclat and effect than on this occasion. He argued that both the monarch and the legislative body should be parties to the declaration of war;—the court zealots wished to assign it to the former exclusively; and the republicans, to the latter. By two admirable speeches, he succeeded, with the Assembly, over its greatest orators. This victory irritated the Jacobins out of doors; they proclaimed that he was sold to the court,—and the multitude called for his head, which would quickly have been paraded on a pike, if Lafayette had not protected him with the National Guard. His astonishing force and address in debate; the apparent sincerity and confidence with which he appealed to his revolutionary course; the fierce assaults and retorts which he frequently made upon the court party; were insufficient to repair his broken popularity, after the denunciation of the republican orators and clubs. He regained something by taking a command in the National Guard, and by his election, in January, 1791, to the chair of the National Assembly. The station of Speaker facilitated his intercourse, and augmented his consideration, with the court; and it afforded him an opportunity of displaying his oratorical talents in a new form, in replies to the addresses which were brought to the bar of the Assembly. Some of his answers are highly beautiful. That to a deputation of Quakers is the most pithy and ingenious. His annunciation of the death of Franklin is well known as a skilful panegyric.

He occupied the Speaker's chair until the 14th of February, with the utmost credit, not only for the merits we have just mentioned, but for the sober dignity and firm equity with which he regulated the debates and curbed the fury of the parties, at this boisterous juncture.

Soon after his return to the floor, he engaged in a tempestuous discussion on the law against emigration, which he wished to defeat. The court party applauded his zeal and reasoning; the *côté gauche* burst into clamours against him—loud cries of *traitor, venal traitor*, were heard from that quarter. He vociferated on his side—*Silence there the thirty voices, Silence aux trente voix*, meaning to designate the small number of his enemies on the patriot benches. But they prevailed, and he felt, as his biographer remarks, that his popularity was vanishing before the suspicions which his conduct justly excited. M. Méilhau has collected authentic anecdotes, which render his *venality* unquestionable. He held private conferences with the queen, to whom he exclaimed, when he was first graciously permitted,—

in June, 1790,—to apply his lips to her extended hand—*This kiss saves the monarchy*. He maintained a secret and active correspondence with the king, in which he explained his own proceedings, and suggested measures for the safety of the royal person and power. An autograph note of Louis XVI. was found, in which he promised to Mirabeau an embassy and two hundred thousand livres. M. de la Marck, the friend and agent of Mirabeau, stated to M. de Bouillé, that the orator had received from the king, in a short space of time, six hundred thousand francs, besides “a retribution of fifty thousand a month.” The king himself remarked, that *he had paid an enormous price for Mirabeau’s services*. His private secretary acknowledged, after his death, when under judicial examination, that he had been paid large sums from the royal exchequer. Mirabeau’s style of living required a very considerable income, and alone was sufficient to betray his corruption. He bought and expensively embellished a splendid country-seat; he maintained a host of servants; he purchased Buffon’s library, valued at three hundred thousand francs. He was as prodigal as rapacious; he indulged all his propensities, vicious or generous, without the least restraint. The largesses of the crown, moreover, were not requited. He actually performed no essential service; he may have intended to give more clear and constant proofs of his devotion to the monarchy; but his ambition, his fears, his dishonesty, his craft or versatility, kept his conduct more or less equivocal to the last. Strong and audacious as he appeared, he himself would have been quickly swept away by the tornado.

Mirabeau must have been endowed with an exceedingly robust constitution of body; otherwise it could not have so long withstood his youthful debauchery, his fiery passions, his keen disquietudes, his long and close imprisonments, his stupendous literary and political labours. While he was a member of the National Assembly, his personal relations and his correspondence were almost incredibly extensive; he presented and exerted himself every where in the political arena; he prepared abstruse reports, he pronounced erudite disquisitions, he struggled in every debate for himself and his party; he watched, struck, negotiated on every side. In 1790, the natural effects of all these circumstances upon his frame began to be alarmingly visible; his friends perceived that his health was declining rapidly:—in 1791, he suffered the most painful affections of the stomach and nerves, and was seized with fits of gloom, from which he endeavoured to escape by plunging deeper into business, and voluptuousness of every kind. At the end of March, 1791, he became grievously sick, and on the 2d of April, expired in the arms of the celebrated Cabanis, his friend and physician, who published an account of his last moments.

As soon as it was known generally in Paris that he was dangerously ill, the liveliest sensation was displayed;—the people incessantly crowded at his door and in the adjacent streets;—the king caused repeated inquiry to be made concerning his situation;—the most distinguished persons of the capital joined in the chorus of sympathy. According to the relation of Cabanis, he beheld the approach of death with calmness; he thought chiefly of politics; and a little before he drew his last breath, he remarked that if he had lived he would have given trouble to Pitt, the British prime-minister. We find no trace in his history or productions, of any Christian or religious principles. So immoral a man must have lost all sense of moral responsibility. It was quickly rumoured and readily believed that he was poisoned. Each of the great factions,—the ultra-royalist and ultra-republican,—accused the other of the crime. But the physicians who opened his body pronounced his dissolution to have been natural—the effect of disease generated as we have seen. He had lived but *forty-two years and a few months*;—he perished in the flower of his age. When we consider how great a portion of his best years was spent in confinement,—how much he sacrificed of his time to mere pleasure,—we must be struck with his prodigious energies of both mind and body,—reflecting also upon the quantity and variety of his information, the number and character of his publications, and the arduousness and brilliancy of his political career. He was of the middle stature; rather corpulent, and of athletic form. His head was remarkably large; his thick hair, dressed out, aggravated its disproportion: his complexion was sallow; his mouth irregular; his cheeks were deeply pitted with the small-pox, and his eyes sunken: on the whole, he was extremely ugly; but this ugliness was forgotten, or only formed an advantage, when he spoke in public. It seemed to impart additional force to his vehement declamation—to the torrent of his bold and bright ideas, and nervous, expressive phrases.

On the day of his demise, *Talleyrand* read to the Assembly, an able discourse on the law of Successions, which the defunct had confided to him for the purpose. No funeral honours were omitted which either that body or the people could pay. His remains were solemnly demanded by the municipal authorities, to be deposited in the church of St. Genéviève, then first, for his sake, converted into a *Pantheon*, or receptacle for the ashes of the great men of the country. They were placed by the side of those of Descartes. The funeral pageant resembled that of some mighty monarch. Lafayette marched in the immense procession, at the head of a deputation from sixty battalions of the National Guard. All the patriotic clubs, the clergy, and the public bodies, were present on the occasion. The subsequent treat-

ment of his remains illustrates the nature of that revolution, in the progress of which, he would certainly have been carried to the guillotine, if he had not fortunately fallen into the grave when he did. In 1793, *Chénier*, who had published verses to Mirabeau's glory, proposed to the Convention to disinter his carcass and cast it out of the Pantheon : in September, 1794, it was, with formal indignity, dragged from the double coffin of wood and lead, and buried in the cemetery of Clamart. The corpse substituted for it, in the Pantheon, was that of the fiend *Marat*, who alone, at the period of his death, congratulated the nation on the event,—adding that Mirabeau had been poisoned by his accomplices, the traitorous stipendiaries of the court. At a later era, the friends of Mirabeau resolved to “rehabilitate his memory ;” a celebrated engraver tendered to the Council of Five Hundred, a full length portrait of the orator ; Cabanis, who was a member of the Council, moved that it should be accepted with honourable mention, and deposited in the national library ; he improved the opportunity to eulogize Mirabeau ; other members paid a lofty tribute to his splendid renown, and the motion was adopted. Afterwards, the Consular government had a statue of him executed in marble and placed in the palace of the Senate. At the restoration of the Bourbons, the statue was expelled. We know not whether it has been reinstated ; but this vicissitude is very probable. It may be again in danger, if the exiled Bourbons should be reenthroned. Mirabeau more than once ejaculated in the Assembly, that “in revolutions, the distance was small between the Capitol and the Tarpeian Rock.” Barnave, his eloquent rival, whom he menaced with this reference, as a prediction, experienced its truth, like most of his fellow-enthusiasts.

A man so dissolute and desperate as Mirabeau, could never have truly loved *Liberty* ; he could not have seen her in her genuine beauty, nor understood her pure essence. When he confessed in the Assembly that his youth had been licentious,—that few persons had furnished more food for scandal in their private life,—that he had committed many misdemeanors,—he boasted at the same time of the constant independence of his spirit, the steadiness of his zeal for freedom, and the inflexibility of his principles. He appealed to the tone and vein of his *thirty* published volumes. But we may account for his animosity to despotic power, by the deep workings of his spirit, and the uniform current of his ideas, during the long years that he suffered as its victim or object. The greater part of his early manhood was a personal struggle with power ; his liberal theories and revolutionary efforts may be ascribed to the operation of the *seventeen lettres de cachet*, which were issued against him, and the arrogance with which he was treated by the nobles, who believed that he had disgraced and sought to destroy their order.

Personal resentments and ruined fortunes were the causes of his warfare upon tyranny. He who could serve the ministry of the old régime as a spy at Berlin, and finally *sell* himself to the king, at the height of his elevation as a friend of the people and a chief of the revolution,—could have cared but little for the *cause* of Liberty—for right or wrong in governments and institutions. His superlative acumen, his comprehensive studies, and his vindictive feelings, enabled him to master the theories,—to retain the common-places;—and to distinguish, in most cases, the just limits of doctrine and action. He could speculate and expatiate on one side or the other, according to the selfish interests, the predominant purposes, of the juncture—according to the excitement or the spleen of the moment. He flattered the mob on various occasions; chimed with the clubs; he prompted Danton in his harangues at the meetings of the Jacobins, and Camille-Desmoulins in his appeals to the groups in the streets; he served the court;—and when he found that the popularity which he had so long ambitiously affected, could not be preserved in consequence of the detection of his double-dealing, he reproached the leaders of the *Côté Gauche* with their adulation of the people and their disloyalty to the crown. It was, indeed, retributive justice, that the hateful system of *lettres de cachet* should occasion the despise, knowledge, and energy which made him so potent a demagogue. Men of his stamp and conduct become efficient agents of Providence, in great national convulsions, of which we may suppose the ultimate results to be beneficial, whatever may be the concomitant evils and enormities. Our own revolution is distinguished, we might say individuated, by the purity of the lives and characters of its leaders and chief instruments, both civil and military.

It was observed, when Mirabeau died, that the *monarchy* descended into the grave with him; and Boissy d'Anglas made the rather impious remark, that in losing him, the Revolution lost its *providence*. He was not merely conscious, but loquaciously vain of his talents; he used to say, "Lafayette has an army; but, believe me, my head is also a power." This overweening conceit may have excited the belief, or imagination, that he could save the monarchy, and set due bounds to the Revolution. We are inclined, however, to regard the delusion as too gross even for him, when he looked without and then concentrated his reflections. As we have intimated, he would have been whirled and whelmed in the tremendous vortex which he assuredly contributed, in a very considerable degree, to open and widen. There was no individual who could be more than a leaf on the boiling whirlpool. Few only have survived, of the many whose names are prominent in the record of his funeral honours;—we may cite Pastoret, Barrère, Lafayette, and Tal-

leyrand. Of the two latter, the present situation is curious. Lafayette is the maker and prop, and Talleyrand the representative and negotiator, of the Duke of Orleans as "King of the French"—the son of that *Philippe Egalité*, with whom Mirabeau was accused of designing to supplant Louis XVI. What paroxysms, what changes, what contests, what havoc, what guilt, in the interval between his death and the present national disenfranchisement! The scenes and events of that interval form a melancholy contrast with the splendid visions of universal order, and universal political prosperity, which our rhetorician conjured up whenever the political tempest seemed to be lulled, and "the vessel of state" to have escaped submersion. At every adoption of a new theoretical reform, he magnificently predicted the perfect regeneration not only of France, but of all the European states. He was then sure of the establishment of the constitutional monarchy, and the indefinite extension of the empire of truth and reason. The occasion of the departmental division of France, affords us a specimen of his common strain of exultation and promise:—

"Il est maintenant complet ce système général d'administration, qui, sur toute la surface de l'empire, donne des interprètes aux pétitions du peuple, des organes aux loix, des mandataires à chaque département, et à chaque cité, des intermédiaires à la collection des citoyens. Pendant quelques instans, au milieu de l'appareil d'une grande création, et quand toutes les institutions anciennes renversées n'offroient plus que les ruines de 20 siècles, la France ne pouvoit que présenter l'image d'un véritable cahos; il disparoit; un ordre durable lui succède, les postes sont fixés, les places remplies, les droits déterminés. Nous avons échappé à cette mort qui atteint les empires comme les individus. Vous n'avez pas seulement réculé la durée de notre société politique, vous avez recréé son existence; c'est au sein même de la tempête qu'il alloit l'engloutir, que vous avez refait à neuf le vaisseau de l'état. Il peut maintenant sans péril se frayer une nouvelle route à de grandes destinées."

We must not be thought to cast any general reflection or disparagement on the men who signalized themselves as reformers or innovators in the outset of the revolution. We would separate what was just and good in their fundamental principles and original attempts, from the doctrinal extravagancies, popular excesses, and ambitious outrages by which its progress and suppression were unfortunately stained. There was much in their theory and action, to be deemed sound and beneficial—there was manifold provocation—there were vast and inveterate abuses. Mirabeau scarcely exaggerated in his recital of leading traits—"L'égoïsme dans le sacerdoce; l'orgueil dans le patriciat; la bassesse dans le peuple; la division entre tous les intérêts; la corruption dans toutes les classes dont se compose la grande famille; la cupidité dans toutes les âmes; l'insignifiance de la nation; la tutelle du prince; le despotisme des ministres."—Such a condition of things might provoke, might agitate, might quicken into a sort of desperation of theory and effort, even the

most sluggish and lukewarm among those observers who were capable of feeling the least love of country; and it accounts for the multitude of the virtuous and able men who took the lead, with the most sanguine hopes, in the first stages of the revolution, and who, when evil spirits usurped all sway, recoiled and fled with horror. But we cannot yield to Mirabeau the credit of exalted and disinterested sentiment—for the reasons which we have already in part assigned; and we deem it material for the cause of public virtue, and in reference to the important object of the right distribution of gratitude and glory,—that mankind should not confound all the prime agents of just revolutions—that they should discriminate between the Hampdens, the Henrys, the Washingtons, the Lafayettes, the Neckers, and the Cromwells, the Arnolds, the Mirabeaus. It may be admitted that Mirabeau was, at the dawn, the “Hercules of Liberty,” the “Demosthenes of France,” the “founder of the French rostrum,” *fondateur de la tribune Française*: one of his eulogists graphically describes him as thundering and prophesying at the gates, and sapping the foundations, of the barbarous and gothic edifice of ecclesiastical and feudal aristocracy. “Il tonne; il prophétise; et la hache à la main, il sappe dans les fondemens, l’édifice barbare et gothique de l’aristocratie sacerdotale et féodale.” These are merits of fact, of deed—very different from those of refined spirit and generous resolution. We respect and applaud much less the impetus of revenge, the irritability of self-love, the restless impatience of impoverished and depraved rank, the persevering audacity of reckless despite, the cupidity of money, to feed inordinate appetites, and of power, to enjoy personal consequence—we respect and applaud these traits, however instrumental they may have been in the overthrow of gothic despotism, and the diffusion of political light—much less than we do the nobler motives, aspirations, and energies,—the deliberate judgment, the erect and straight march, the serene fortitude or the lofty enthusiasm—of excited and unmingled *patriotism*. We lay stress and dilate upon this topic, because the admiration and the fame due to sound and unfeigned public virtue alone, are too often lavished upon mere instrumentality in great national objects. The interests of society, the claims of justice and truth, require a studious discrimination and preference. We would not have placed the remains of Mirabeau in the Pantheon, or his statue in the senate-house, except with reference to his superior abilities. There is not one of the Signers of the Declaration of our Independence, whom we do not deem more entitled to the distinction and reverence demandable for efficient *patriotism*;—there is not one of whose personal character or private life their country need be ashamed—not even the most vehement in spirit, the

poorest in fortune, or the humblest in calling, engaged or rejoiced in the ferment and strife of revolution, from other than public considerations. The last thoughts and sentences of Mirabeau were those of personal vanity;—he was occupied with the idea, not of the national weal, but of the contest which he would have waged with Pitt as a rival statesman: Napoleon died with the dream of battle on his lips—old John Adams, exclaiming, *Independence for ever!*

ART. IX.—BANKS AND CURRENCY.

- 1.—*Report of the Committee of Finance of the Senate of the United States, to which was referred a resolution of the 30th of December, 1829, directing the Committee to inquire into the expediency of establishing an uniform National Currency for the United States; made by MR. SMITH, of Maryland, on the 29th of March, 1830. 8vo.*
- 2.—*Report of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives of the United States, to which was referred so much of the President's Message as relates to the Bank of the United States; made by MR. M'DUFFIE, of South Carolina, on the 13th of April, 1830. pp. 31. 8vo.*
- 3.—*Report from the Secretary of the Treasury, in compliance with a resolution of the Senate, of the 29th of December, 1829, respecting the relative value of gold and silver, &c.; dated May 4th, 1830. pp. 118. 8vo.*

THE framers of the Constitution of the United States were deeply impressed with the still fresh recollection of the baneful effects of a paper money currency, on the property and moral feeling of the community. It was accordingly provided by our National Charter, that no state should coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but *gold and silver coin* a tender in payment of debts, or pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts; and the power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, was, by the same instrument, vested exclusively in Congress. As this body has no authority to make any thing whatever a tender in payment of private debts, it necessarily follows, that nothing but gold and silver coin can be made a legal tender for that purpose, and that Congress cannot authorize the payment, in any species of paper currency, of any other debts but those due to the United States, or such debts of the United States as may, by special contract, be made payable in such paper. All the engagements previously contracted

at home, by the United States, were expressed in Spanish dollars; all the moneys of account of the several states, were estimated and payable in that coin; there might be some uncertainty as to the precise weight of pure silver which it contained; and the assays made at the time, may not, for want of proper means, have had all the accuracy of which that process is susceptible. But they were made in good faith; and the Act of Congress of the year 1791, which declared that the dollar of the United States should contain $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver, has irrevocably fixed that quantity as the equivalent of a dollar of account, and as the permanent standard of value, according to which all contracts must be performed. The relative value of gold and foreign coins to that standard, may from time to time be varied, provided that neither shall be so overrated, as to authorize the payment of a debt with an amount in such coin of a less actual value, than that of the silver to which it may be made to correspond.

The provisions of the Constitution were universally considered as affording a complete security against the danger of paper money. The introduction of the banking system, met with a strenuous opposition on various grounds; but it was not apprehended that bank notes, convertible at will into specie, and which no person could be legally compelled to take in payment, would degenerate into pure paper money, no longer paid at sight in specie. At a later date, although occasional bankruptcies had taken place, and might again be anticipated, there was no apprehension of a general failure of the banks in three-fourths of the states. Still less was it expected, and it was the catastrophe of the year 1814 which first disclosed not only the insecurity of the American banking system, as then existing, but also, that when a paper currency, driving away, and superseding the use of gold and silver, has insinuated itself through every channel of circulation, and become the only medium of exchange, every individual finds himself, in fact, compelled to receive such currency, even when depreciated more than twenty per cent., in the same manner as if it had been made a legal tender. The establishment of the Bank of the United States was recommended by the Treasury, and that Institution was incorporated by Congress, for the express and avowed purpose of removing an evil, which the difference in the rate of depreciation, between the paper currencies of the several states, and even those of different places in the same state, had rendered altogether intolerable. The object in view has been obtained. The resumption of specie payments, which the state banks had been unwilling or unable to effect, took place immediately after that of the United States had commenced its operations. And it has, for a number of years, supplied the country with a currency safer, and, it must

at least be allowed, more uniform, than that which the state banks could furnish. The question, whether the charter, which expires in a few years, should be renewed, has been brought by the President before Congress, with a suggestion that a national bank, founded upon the credit and revenues of the government, might be advantageously substituted, to that now in existence. Reports favourable to the continuance of the present bank, have been made by committees of both houses of Congress. Another report, on the relative value of gold and silver, and intimately connected with the subject of currency, has also been made by the Secretary of the Treasury to the Senate. Availing ourselves of the information afforded by those documents, and particularly of the arguments adduced in Mr. M'Duffie's able report, we intend to examine this important question, principally in reference to the currency of the country, considered as the common standard, by which the value of all the other commodities is estimated, and every contract is performed.

Whatever commodity or species of paper may, by law or general consent, be universally received in any country, in exchange of every other commodity, and in payment of all debts, is the circulating medium or currency of such country, or in other words, its common standard of the value of all commodities whatever, and that which regulates the performance of all contracts not specially excepted. It is therefore of primary importance, that the commodity or substitute, which may be selected for that purpose, should be of a value as permanent as practicable, and the same in every part of the same country; and it is also highly desirable, that the same circulating medium should be common to all countries connected by commerce. Gold and silver are the only substances, which have been, and continue to be, the universal currency of civilized nations. It is not necessary to enumerate the well-known properties which rendered them best fitted for a general medium of exchange. They were used, not only as ornaments and objects of luxury, but also for that particular purpose, from the earliest times. We learn from the most ancient and authentic of records, that Abraham was rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold; that he purchased a field *for as much money as it is worth*, and in payment weighed four hundred shekels of silver, *current (money) with the merchant*. And when we see that nations, differing in language, religion, habits, and on almost every subject susceptible of doubt, have, during a period of near four thousand years, agreed in one respect; and that gold and silver have, uninterruptedly to this day, continued to be the universal currency of the commercial and civilized world, it may safely be inferred, that they have also been found superior to any other substance in that permanency of value, which is the most necessary attribute

of a circulating medium, in its character of the standard, that regulates the payment of debts, and the performance of contracts.

There is not, however, in nature, any perfect or altogether permanent standard of value. There is not a single commodity, the relative value of which, as compared to that of all other commodities, is not subject to great and permanent changes as well as to temporary fluctuations. But it will be found, that the nature of the demand for precious metals, the comparative regularity of the supply, and especially their much greater durability and intrinsic value, than those of any other substance otherwise fitted for a circulating medium, restrain the fluctuations to which the relative value of gold and silver are liable, within far narrower limits, than is the case with any other commodity which might have been selected for a currency. It is well known that the discovery of America was followed by a great and permanent change in the price of the precious metals, which reduced it to one fourth of their previous relative value as compared to all other commodities. This great revolution was due to a simultaneous vast increase of the supply and corresponding reduction in the cost of production of the metals. The American mines of silver do not lie nearer the surface of the earth than those of other countries; the ore rarely yields more silver than one-fourth per cent. of its weight; nor was there at the time any improvement adopted that tended materially to lessen the expense of extracting the silver from the ore. The superiority of the silver mines of America, appears to consist, principally, in the magnitude of the beds of ore, whereby a much greater quantity is dug out from the bowels of the earth with the same labour. The annual labour of one miner at the mine of Valenciana, the most fertile of Mexico, was sufficient, in 1803, to extract from the bowels of the earth, four hundred quintals of ore, which produced one quintal of silver; and the annual produce of the mine exceeded three millions of dollars in value, (about 220,000 lbs. troy weight); whilst, at the richest mine of Saxony, the annual labour of eleven miners, was necessary to extract the ore sufficient to produce a quintal of silver; and the annual produce was less than ninety thousand dollars, (about 6,200 lbs. troy weight). Although the money price of mining labour appears to be five times greater in Mexico than Saxony, and notwithstanding the want of fuel and other circumstances which increase the current expenses, the cost of production was still much less at the Mexican than at the Saxon mine, and left a considerable rent to the owner. The Saxon mine, though probably as rich as any that was in operation in Europe prior to the discovery of America, could not, on account of the difference in the rate of wages, be worked if situated in Mexico. It follows,

that all the American silver mines are superior to it in fertility, though in that respect differing from each other, and gradually decreasing from that of Valenciana, down to the poorest, which probably affords no rent to the owner.

The American mines, or washings of gold, are in the same manner more fertile, or, with the same labour, produce much greater quantities of pure metal than those of Europe. But the difference must have been less with respect to gold than to silver mines. The relative value of gold to silver was, before the discovery of America, at the ratio of 11 or 12, and is now at that of 15 or 16 to 1. If the depreciation in the value of silver has been at the rate of 4 to 1, that of gold has been only at the rate of about 3 to 1; and this may afford some reason to think, that, of the two metals, gold is probably the most permanent standard of value. It must be observed, that, though wanted for similar purposes, the relative value of gold to silver does not depend on any supposed similarity or connexion between the two metals, but is the result of the respective prime cost of each, which determines the value of each in relation to that of all other commodities.

As the total importation of precious metals from America to Europe had not, prior to the year 1596, exceeded a quantity equal to that contained in eight hundred millions of dollars, and the depreciation was then already at the rate of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, it is probable that the total amount of gold and silver existing in Europe prior to the discovery of America, though worth then four times as much, did not in quantity exceed that contained in three hundred millions of dollars, money of the present times.

The total amount of gold and silver produced by the mines of America, to the year 1803, inclusively, and remaining there or exported to Europe, has been estimated by Humboldt at about five thousand six hundred millions of dollars; and the product of the years 1804—1830, may be estimated at seven hundred and fifty millions. If to this we add one hundred millions, the nearly ascertained product to this time of the mines of Siberia, about four hundred and fifty millions for the African gold dust, and for the product of the mines of Europe, (which yielded about three millions a year in the beginning of this century,) from the discovery of America to this day, and three hundred millions for the amount existing in Europe prior to the discovery of America, we find a total, not widely differing from the fact, of seven thousand two hundred millions of dollars. It is much more difficult to ascertain the amount which now remains in Europe and America together. The loss by friction and accidents might be estimated, and researches made respecting the total amount which has been exported to countries beyond

the Cape of Good Hope: but that which has been actually consumed in gilding, plated ware, and other manufactures of the same character, cannot be correctly ascertained. From the imperfect data within our reach, it may, we think, be affirmed, that the amount still existing in Europe and America certainly exceeds four thousand, and most probably falls short of five thousand millions of dollars. Of the medium, or four thousand five hundred millions, which we have assumed, it appears that from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ is used as currency, and that the residue consists of plate, jewels, and other manufactured articles. It is known, that of the gross amount of seven thousand two hundred millions of dollars, about eighteen millions, or $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the whole in value, and $\frac{1}{10}$ th in weight, consisted of gold. Of the four thousand five hundred millions, the presumed remaining amount in gold and silver, the proportion of gold is probably greater, on account of the exportation to India and China having been exclusively in silver, and of the greater care in preventing every possible waste in an article so valuable as gold.

In order, therefore, to produce a revolution in the price of gold and silver, such as was caused by that event, mines must be discovered, which, in thirty or forty years, should produce, in addition to the supply required by the increasing demand, thirteen or fourteen thousand millions of dollars, or three times the quantity now existing; and this increased supply must be accompanied with a corresponding reduction in the cost of production. It is obvious, that the discovery of one hundred new mines, even superior in magnitude, and equal in other respects to that of Valenciana, would only cause mines of inferior fertility to be abandoned, and could produce no greater effect on the price of silver, than reducing it to the actual cost of production at the mine of Valenciana. The expense of extracting the silver from ore of a given quality, once brought to the surface of the earth, bears too small a proportion to the whole expense of working a mine, to render it possible that any improvement in that process should cause any great reduction in the price of the metal. It does not appear that such reduction can be effected, otherwise than, either by the discovery of numerous and large beds of ore, much richer in silver than any yet worked, or by a great reduction in the money price of labour in America. Judging from analogy, the first event, at least to a sufficient extent, is altogether improbable; and the last contingency cannot take place but slowly and gradually. On the other hand, the diminution in the annual supply for the last twenty years, having been exclusively caused by the convulsions attending the revolutions of the new American states, is but temporary; and the successive numerous discoveries of new mines, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, render it highly probable, that,

after order and security shall have been restored in those states, a similar progress will take place, and continue, as heretofore, to produce an increasing annual supply, corresponding with the increasing demand. This demand, also, being always proportionate to the wealth and prosperity of the civilized world, can increase but gradually. It is, therefore, highly improbable, that any new revolution should again occur, producing effects in any degree similar to those which followed the discovery of America, or that there should be any other permanent alteration in the price of the precious metals, but such slow and gradual changes as cannot substantially affect the due performance of the great mass of ordinary contracts. Before we examine the temporary fluctuations in value, to which both gold and silver are liable, it is necessary to inquire into the nature of the demand for those metals.

Mines being, like tillable land, private property, and of different fertility, the rent of either, as well as the intrinsic value of their respective produce, are regulated by analogous laws. But there is an essential difference between the demand for corn and that for the precious metals. That for corn, or the ordinary article of food, is for an amount in quantity, without much regard to value. That for gold and silver is for an amount in value and not in quantity. More food is consumed and may be wasted in plentiful years, than in those of scarcity. But there is always a certain quantity of corn, or other usual article of food, determined by population, and which must necessarily be supplied at any price, without any other limits than actual deficiency in the supply, or absolute inability to pay the market price; and in either case a portion of the suffering population must perish. In a country requiring annually at least fifty millions bushels, or any other quantity of corn, for the *necessary* subsistence of its inhabitants, there is a most imperative demand for that amount, or a substitute for it; and this must be satisfied, if the amount can be procured at all, and at any price, provided the country can by any means pay for it. The demand for corn is therefore for a certain quantity regulated by the population, and not for a certain value proportionate to the income, capital, or wealth of the country.

But the demand for gold and silver is, either for plate, jewels, and other manufactured articles, such as plated ware, gilding, &c.; in which those metals are used, or for currency. It is evident, that all, or nearly all those objects of demand being, with the exception of currency, articles of luxury, the effective demand for them, including both the wish to possess and the means to pay, must be proportionate to wealth, and therefore for a certain amount in value and not in quantity. No individual can lay out more than a certain portion of his income or capital in plate

and jewels. If the price of the precious metals is reduced to one fourth of what it previously was, as happened during the latter end of the sixteenth century, he will be able, with the same income, to obtain four times the quantity of plate and gold ornaments which he formerly possessed, because their value remains the same. But the increased cheapness will in a very inconsiderable degree, if at all, have a tendency to increase the amount in value of gold and silver articles which will be used. An individual may be induced by such great reduction in the price of silver, to substitute silver spoons or forks to those made of inferior metal; but so long as silver spoons or forks are dearer than those of any other metal, he cannot, his income remaining the same, indulge his wish without retrenching his expenses in some other respects, and without depriving himself of some other comforts. What is true of every individual in every country, is equally so of the aggregate of individuals, or of every country. The demand for an increased value of plate, jewels, and other articles manufactured, in whole or in part, of gold or silver, with the exception perhaps of a few articles in general use amongst all classes, will every where be nearly in proportion to the wealth of each country respectively. And what is nearly correct, as regards the demand for manufactures of gold and silver, is strictly true as applied to the demand for those metals for currency.

As a silver dollar, or dollar bank note, passing from hand to hand, effects in a given time, a year for instance, a great number of payments, the amount of currency wanted in any country is always much less than the gross amount of payments made in currency within the same time. The amount thus wanted is that which is necessary and sufficient, for the payment of all such purchases of land, labour and product of labour (embracing every species of commodities and capital) as are paid with currency. Its *value* must always, therefore, bear a certain proportion to the aggregate *value* of the land, labour and all objects whatever, thus paid for with currency. That proportion, as well as that which the value of the annual purchases effected with currency may bear to the value of the whole amount of annual exchanges and purchases of the country, whether effected with currency or by any other means, must vary and be difficult to ascertain. But, whatever either of these two ratios may be, the average value of the various objects purchased, which are paid for in currency within a given time, a year for instance, will always require a certain proportionate value of currency. The average value of the objects, thus annually paid for, determines the total average amount in value of currency which is requisite, and in the case before us, the average value of precious metals which is wanted

for currency, and for which there is an actual demand for that purpose.

Let it be supposed that the amount of currency wanted in a country, is one-tenth part of the whole amount of the annual payments made there in currency; and that the currency consisting exclusively of silver, there are annually in that country one million of bushels of wheat sold and paid for in currency. It is clear, that if the relative value of silver to wheat be such in such country, that one ounce of silver is the equivalent and common price of a bushel of wheat, one hundred thousand ounces of silver will be necessary and sufficient to effect the payment of all the wheat annually sold and paid for in currency. If on account of a reduction in the cost of its production, or from any other cause, the value of silver, as compared to that of all other commodities, should be reduced to one half of what it previously was, and the value of wheat, as compared with that of all other commodities, silver excepted, remaining the same as before, two hundred thousand ounces of silver would be necessary to effect the payment of the one million of bushels of wheat sold for currency during the year. But although the quantity of silver (or nominal amount of currency) wanted, was twice as great as before, the value would remain precisely the same, two hundred thousand having become worth no more than one hundred thousand ounces had previously been. If, instead of this, the value of silver had undergone no change, and either the quantity of wheat, annually sold and paid for in currency, had increased to two millions of bushels, its price remaining the same, or if, the quantity thus sold remaining the same, the value of wheat as compared to all other commodities had doubled, the two hundred thousand ounces of silver, which would also be then wanted to effect the payments of the sales of wheat, being actually worth twice as much as the one hundred thousand ounces had been, the *value* of currency wanted would be twice as great as theretofore.

What is true of the proportionate value of the currency, wanted to effect the payment of the quantity of wheat annually paid for in currency, to the value of that wheat, is equally true of the proportionate value of the currency, wanted to effect the payment of the whole amount of land, labour, and products of labour, annually paid for in currency, to the aggregate value of all those objects. Although the proportion may vary, according to the rapidity of the circulation, and to the means used in order to economise the currency, it is always that aggregate value, which determines the value of the currency wanted in any country. Whilst that aggregate value remains the same, any great variation in the amount in quantity of the currency must be due to a change, or cause a change, in its value, as compared with that

of all other commodities. Where gold and silver are the only currency, any great and permanent increase in the quantity of those metals used as currency, (the aggregate value of the objects annually paid for in currency remaining the same,) must be due to a corresponding reduction in the cost of production of gold and silver; which cost, leaving to the owners of mines a greater or less rent according to their fertility, determines the value of those metals as compared with that of all other commodities. The amount in value of the currency wanted to effect the necessary payments, though but a comparatively small portion, is one of the most important, productive, and necessary portions of the capital of a nation. Its use is substituted to an inconvenient barter or exchange of one commodity for another; it enables every individual to dispose at all times, and with facility, of the whole surplus of the products of his industry, and to purchase with the proceeds any of the products of the industry of others which he may want; it promotes the division of labour, and vivifies the industry of the whole country. But whenever the precious metals used as currency exceed in any country the value wanted to effect the necessary payments, the surplus becomes a dead and unproductive stock; and it will, accordingly, be either converted into manufactured articles of those metals, or be exported to other countries.

It is evident, that, if the currency should consist of an irredeemable paper, having only an artificial and local value, and none whatever, either in other countries or for any other purpose; any excess in the nominal value of such currency, beyond the actual value sufficient to make the necessary payments, must cause a corresponding depreciation in that nominal value. If fifty-five millions of ounces of pure silver, at its present value as compared with all other commodities, are sufficient on an average to effect all the payments made in the United States in currency, the whole quantity of a paper currency substituted to silver, cannot, on an average, whatever its nominal amount may be, exceed in value fifty-five millions of ounces of pure silver, or about seventy-one millions of dollars in our present coin. Whether such currency amounted nominally to seventy-one, one hundred, or one hundred and forty millions of dollars, its value would not, on an average, exceed that of the seventy-one millions of silver dollars wanted to effect the necessary payments; and the paper money would generally depreciate at least in proportion to the excess of its nominal amount beyond seventy-one millions of silver dollars. Having recurred to numbers by way of illustration, it is proper to observe, that we do not mean to assert that the total value of currency wanted in any country is not a fixed sum. It is evident that it must vary with the variations in the aggregate value of the several objects usually paid

for in currency. Even when no such alteration takes place in the industry and commerce of a country, the amount of currency may occasionally, to a certain extent, exceed that which is actually wanted, without affecting its price. An approximation of the average amount, which always fluctuates within certain limits, is all we pretend to give.

It is obvious that the aggregate value of the annual payments made in currency, which regulates the value of the currency wanted, must itself principally depend on the aggregate value of the land, labour, products of labour, and in short of all the objects which are or may be annually sold or exchanged. The amount of the value of currency wanted, or the demand for currency in every country, depends therefore principally on its wealth, but is modified in some degree by the state of society. The wages of labour, and the rent of land, are, in most countries, no inconsiderable portion of the objects which must be paid for in money. Countries where slave is generally used instead of free labour, or where, as in the United States, the greater part of the land is occupied and tilled by the owners, or, when rented, let generally on shares, will, therefore, with equal wealth, require a less proportionate amount of currency in value. Less is also wanted in purely agricultural countries, and every where by those engaged in agriculture, than in any other profession. As a far greater part of the income of almost every individual is expended on articles of food, than on the product of any other one branch of industry, farmers consume a much greater part of the products of their own industry, and they therefore have a less proportionate amount of those products to exchange for the products of the industry of others, than any other profession. Barter continues also to be a principal mode of exchange in the country, at least in a great portion of the United States, where the planter and farmer obtain from time to time their supplies from the merchant, and pay him annually with their crop. It may be said, generally, that, with respect to the state of society, the want and demand for currency increase in proportion to the density of the population, the consequent multiplication and growth of towns, and the division of labour. And these being almost exclusively the result of the increasing growth, prosperity, and wealth of a country, it may be correctly asserted, that the demand for currency in any country is generally proportionate to its wealth.

That demand increases in proportion to that of population, only in as far as population is a principal element of wealth; and both will increase together, nearly in the same proportion, in a country which in other respects is nearly stationary. But the ratio of the population to the actual amount of currency, which always corresponds nearly with the demand for it, will be found to differ materially in various countries, according to the pro-

ductiveness of labour, to the accumulated amount of products of labour or capital, and generally to the wealth of each respectively. The perpetual melting of coins, makes, indeed, the amount of coinage alone, and without many subsidiary investigations, a very imperfect criterion of the amount of gold and silver coins existing in any country. A much more correct estimate may be made, where paper or debased coin, neither of which can be advantageously exported or used for any other purpose, constitute the whole or greatest part of the currency. And resorting to both means, an approximation sufficient for the purpose may be obtained.

We learn from Storch, that the paper money of Russia, amounted, in 1812—1814, to five hundred and seventy-seven millions of rubles, and the copper currency to about twenty-five millions. Both being depreciated to one-fourth part of their nominal value, were equivalent to one hundred and fifty millions of silver rubles; to which adding the estimated amount of twenty-five millions of silver rubles still in circulation, gives a total of one hundred and seventy-five millions, equal to less than one hundred and thirty-two millions of dollars. The paper circulates, almost through the whole empire, from Archangel to Odessa, and from the banks of the Dwina to the confines of Asia. Excluding Riga, Curland, and the Asiatic provinces, the one hundred and thirty-two millions of dollars are the total value of currency, for at least thirty-five millions of souls, that is to say, at the rate of less than four dollars a head.

It will hereafter be shown, that the amount of currency of the United States, did not, in 1829, probably exceed seventy-two millions of dollars, or at the rate of about six dollars a head; a result nearly the same as that of the year 1819. The reasons, why the amount is less than might have been inferred, from the extensive commerce of the United States, and the wealth of our large cities, have already been briefly indicated.

In France, where great pains have been taken to ascertain the facts, as far as it is practicable, in a country, nine-tenths at least of the currency of which consist of the precious metals, the estimates vary, for different years and different amounts of population, from two thousand to two thousand five hundred millions of francs, but only from seventy-two to eighty francs, or from thirteen and a half to fifteen dollars a head.

The bank notes of the Bank of England, and of country banks amounted, in the year 1811, to forty-four and a half millions sterling, and those of Scotland to three millions and a half, equivalent, together, to about forty-four millions specie, to which adding about four millions worth of debased silver, gives, in a population of about twelve millions of souls, about £4 sterling, or 19 dollars a head. In 1829, the amount has been stated to be twenty-two millions in gold, eight millions in silver, and twenty-eight

millions in English bank notes, to which, adding four millions of Scotch notes, gives sixty-two millions, or about the same result in proportion to the population; since this, allowing the same rate of increase since 1821, as between 1811 and 1821, must now amount to between fifteen and sixteen millions of souls. But, including the population and the bank notes of Ireland, we would have a population of about twenty-three millions, and a currency of about sixty millions sterling, or, as in France, about fourteen dollars a head.

From these and more imperfect data, in relation to other countries, we believe that the total amount of currency in Europe and America, may be estimated at two thousand to two thousand three hundred millions of dollars; three-fourths of which consist of the precious metals, and the residue of bank notes and irredeemable paper money.

The amount in weight or quantity of gold and silver, is now fifteen times as great in Europe and America, as it was prior to the discovery of the last country. But the three hundred millions previously existing, were then worth as much as twelve hundred millions at this time. The increase, so far as it consists only in amount, and has been caused by the reduced cost of production, is, at least with respect to currency, of no importance whatever. It is quite immaterial to the community, whether one thousand ounces of silver, will, on an average, purchase one thousand or four thousand given measures or weights of every other commodity. Had not that reduction taken place, four hundred thousand millions of dollars in currency would have answered the same purpose as is now effected by sixteen hundred thousand millions, without any other difference, than probably the use of coins of base metal, instead of our dimes and half dimes. But the increase from twelve hundred millions, (the present worth of the former three hundred millions,) to four thousand five hundred millions, is an increase in value, and indicates a corresponding, and, on account of the numerous substitutes for currency introduced by commerce and credit, a still greater proportionate increase of the wealth and prosperity of Europe and America together, during the two last centuries. That increase of value has no otherwise contributed to this increased wealth, than as far as it has added to the amount of exchangeable commodities; and the same effect would have been produced by a similar increase in any other commodity. The increased wealth and prosperity of Europe and America are the cause, and not the effect, of the increased amount in value of gold and silver, which they now possess. The causes of that great increase of wealth, are not to be found in the fertility of the mines of America, but in the general progress of knowledge, skill, and every species of industry, in the consequent improvement of governments, laws, and habits, in all that

constitutes what is called civilization. The influx of precious metals follows in every country, and does not precede the corresponding increase of wealth.

The regularity of the annual supply of the precious metals, not being affected by the seasons, the changes in the amount of that supply, had, during the two last centuries, been gradual, and hardly sensible from year to year. That, which has taken place within the last twenty years, has been greater than had been experienced, since the first great revolution caused by the discovery of America. The annual supply of the mines of America, Asia, and Europe, had reached its highest point, in the years 1803-1810, and amounted then to fifty millions of dollars, or to about one and one-fourth per cent. of the whole quantity of precious metals then existing in Europe and America. The convulsions of the former Spanish colonies have, for the last twenty years, reduced the total annual supply to about twenty-seven millions, or to about three-fifths per cent. of the whole amount now existing. A diminution of one half of the ordinary supply of any other commodity, the demand remaining the same, would have produced a still perhaps greater proportionate increase in its price. Continued during twenty years, this diminished supply of the precious metals, whilst the demand is still gradually increasing, cannot but have affected, in some degree, their price; and if prolonged much longer, the effect would be visible; but it has been gradual, from year to year imperceptible, and affecting in no sensible manner the performance of contracts. This is obviously due to the extreme comparative smallness of the ordinary supply, which does not exceed one hundredth part of the stock on hand, whilst the annual supply of corn and of most other natural products always exceeds, and that of most manufactured articles hardly equals, the amount of the old stock. The superior durability and value of the precious metals, over every other substance (including even iron, copper, and other metals) fitted for a circulating medium, which produce and preserve the great accumulation of gold and silver, are the principal cause of their great superiority over every other commodity, as a permanent standard of value.

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For the same reasons, any accidental inequality in the distribution of the precious metals, amongst the several countries, in proportion to their respective wants, is promptly and easily repaired; and any extraordinary demand from a particular country met without difficulty, or sensibly affecting the price of the metal required. The general supply or stock on hand, is always sufficient to meet such demand, and the expenses and charges of transportation are, on account of the greater value of an equal bulk, far less than those of any other commodity, hardly ever exceeding in time of peace one per cent. on the value, even

when brought from the most distant countries of the civilized world. During the four years which immediately followed the resumption of specie payments in England, that occurrence caused an extraordinary demand of more than twenty millions sterling in gold, or about twenty-four millions of dollars a year, being near three times as much as the annual supply of that metal; and this demand was met without any difficulty, or sensibly enhancing the price of gold. As the gold coins of France are, by the mint regulations of that country, a little overrated in relation to those of silver, they always command a small premium, varying generally from one-fifth to one-half per cent. This premium never exceeded the last rate during the years of that demand; which is a conclusive proof that it could not at most, and at any time, have enhanced the price of gold more than three-tenths per cent.; since, in that case, the advance would have also taken place in France, whence, in fact, a considerable portion of that demand was supplied. This decisive fact also shows, that it is erroneously that the exportation of American gold coins, which commenced in the year 1821, has been ascribed to that extraordinary demand. That exportation has been continued uninterruptedly, after that cause had ceased to operate, and, as will be seen hereafter, is due to the alteration from that epoch in the rate of exchanges.

But it is nevertheless true, that as the value of the various objects exchanged or sold annually in a country, and, what is still more important, as the proportion of that value to the amount of the actual payments which must be made in currency, are both subject to variations, the amount of currency wanted in a country does, exclusively of the gradually increasing demand caused by an increasing prosperity, vary at different times in the same country. That amount ought, therefore, in prosperous seasons, to exceed that which is then necessarily wanted, in order to be able to meet the greater demand which at times takes place. There are, in every country, banks, bankers, and great dealers, in whose hands the currency of the country accumulates, to be thence again distributed amongst the members of the community, according to their respective wants. Obligated to meet those demands, it is their interest and duty to keep always those reservoirs sufficiently full. And, where no artificial substitute has rendered the task more difficult, in countries where specie is the sole or principal currency, although there may be occasional commercial revulsions and distress, an actual want of specie is hardly ever known.

Although the causes of such distress, and of a real or presumed scarcity of currency are of the same nature, they may, as somewhat dissimilar in their immediate effects, be distinguished as external and internal. As the imports and exports of a coun-

try are now but rarely effected by the same persons, there are always, in consequence of the commercial intercourse between two countries, creditors and debtors on both sides. It is obviously the interest of both to exchange or sell those debts, when the exporter does not want to import, nor the importer to export merchandise. A bill of exchange, drawn from the United States on England, is an obligation on the part of the drawer to exchange, for a sum paid to him in the United States, an equivalent in England. When the credits and debits respectively payable at the same time are nearly equal, the exchange is made on equal terms. In proportion as the debt of the United States to England, is greater than that of England to the United States, the demand for bills on England will become greater than the supply; and the drawer will obtain a greater sum in the United States, than that which by his bill he obliges himself to pay in England. Whenever the difference becomes so great, as to exceed the expense and risk of transporting precious metals to England, those metals will be exported in preference to a remittance in bills. When the commercial transactions between two countries are comparatively small, and the stock of gold and silver large, their exportation, particularly in neighbouring countries, soon pays the balance and restores the equilibrium. When, as between the United States and England, the respective imports and exports are very large, the balance due may be increased in proportion, and, the stock of the precious metals in the United States being comparatively small, the exchange may remain for years unfavourable; and the precious metals continue to be exported, until the balance is actually paid from the proceeds of the exports generally, or converted, by the sale of American stock, into a debt not immediately demandable.

This apparently continued drain was considered, in former times, as an evil of great magnitude; and severe laws were in most countries enacted against the exportation of specie. Experience has shown, not only that those laws were inefficient, but also that the best, if not only means, to ensure an uniform and sufficient supply of any foreign product, when there is no other object in view, is to lay no restraint whatever on its importation and exportation. Commerce, when not interrupted by war, or other causes, is always found to supply the amount of precious metals which may be wanted. Numerous striking proofs might be adduced: it is sufficient to recollect, that the average rate of exchange on England, from the beginning of 1821 to the end of 1829, has been \$4 87 cents per £ sterling, (about $9\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. premium on nominal par,) or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. above the true par; that it never was, during the whole of that time, below \$4 60, at which rate, gold, being underrated by our mint regulations,

commences to be exported, and that that period was in no degree remarkable for scarcity of specie.

Being obliged to refer to the rate of exchange, it must be recollected, that what is universally meant by *par*, is the promise to pay, in another place, a quantity of pure silver or gold, equal in weight to the quantity of pure silver or gold contained in the coins, with which the drawer of the bill of exchange is paid. When bills are drawn at long dates, and payable at a distant place, the time which elapses between the purchase of the bill from the drawer, and its payment by the drawee, must be taken into consideration, in order to calculate what would be an equal exchange, as distinguished from the *par* of exchange. There is no other difficulty, but that of ascertaining their respective weights, in order to calculate the *par* of exchange between countries having the same standard of value, or in which payments are usually made with the same metal. This being the case in the United States and in France, and the French kilogramme being equivalent to about 15,434 grains, troy weight, the *par* of exchange of the United States on France, is at the rate of about 5 francs and 34½ centimes for a dollar, since the French franc contains 4½ grammes, and the United States dollar 371½ grains of pure silver. Allowing 1¼ per cent. on account of the 90 days which will usually elapse between the day on which the value of a bill payable 60 days after sight is, in our country, paid to the drawer, and the day on which that bill is paid in the other country by the drawee, it will be found that the *equal* exchange between the United States and France is, on such bills, at the rate of francs 5.28, if drawn from the United States on France, and at the rate of francs 5.41 for one dollar, if drawn from France on the United States.

But if one of the two metals is, by mint regulations, underrated or excluded in one country, whilst the other metal is in the same manner excluded in another country, the usual payments will be made in different metals in those two countries; and the *par* of exchange between them must, then, as is the case between the United States and England, depend on the relative value of gold and silver at the time, and vary with every fluctuation of that relative value. These fluctuations are, however, confined within narrow limits; the value of gold bullion, as compared with silver, varying between the ratios of 15.70 and 15.80 to 1. And the medium *par* of exchange between the United States and England, deduced from the average premium on gold over silver coins in France, is about \$4 75, for one pound sterling, or near 7 per cent. above the nominal *par* assumed in the usual quotations of exchange. It is in those quotations supposed, that one pound sterling is equal to \$4 44½, or, in other words, that one dollar is equal to ¼ sterling. It is

not necessary to investigate, whether this presumed equality or par was derived from the intrinsic value of some ancient Spanish dollar, no longer current, or whether it was adopted as convenient for the conversion of most of the currencies of the British colonies into British currency. It is certain that this imaginary par does not even correspond with that which, though erroneously, might be deduced from comparing separately the gold and silver coins of the two countries with each other respectively; since this would be, if comparing gold to gold, about \$4 56, and if comparing silver to silver, (at the former rate of 62 sterling for one pound troy weight of silver, old British standard,) about \$4 63 for a pound sterling. The dealers in exchange are at no loss to make their calculations, whatever rate may be assumed as par in the usual quotations: but this puzzles, and, in various respects, misleads those who, without investigation, naturally suppose that what has been assumed is the true par of exchange.

The causes of the fluctuations of exchange between distant places in an extensive country, or between different countries, are of the same nature, and may occasion a similar transportation of the precious metals from one place to another. We will hereafter examine how that from one part of the United States to another has been affected by the Bank of the United States. But there is this difference, between a commercial distress and presumed scarcity of currency, due to internal causes, whilst the foreign exchanges remain favourable, and a similar distress arising from large foreign debts, and accompanied by an unfavourable rate of exchange, that, in the last case, there is an exportation of the coins of the country which cannot take place in the first. If the same effects, in other respects, are nevertheless the same in both cases; if in both, the same, and sometimes general distress equally prevails; if the same difficulty occurs in the payment of debts; if the same complaint is made of want of money, whether specie is exported or not, it is obvious that there must be another cause, besides an actual scarcity of currency, for the real distress which is felt; and that what is called "want of money," is not "want of currency." It will be found that this cause is universally overtrading, and that the want of money, as it is called, is the want of exchangeable or saleable property or commodities, and the want of credit. The man who says that he wants money, could at all times obtain it, if he had either credit or saleable commodities.

Overtrading consists in undertakings or speculations of every possible description, which fail altogether, or of which the returns are slower than, under sanguine expectations, had been calculated, or the proceeds of which, (too many tempted by temporary high prices or profits, having embarked in the same

branch of business,) greatly exceed the demand, and glut the market. A great loss may be experienced by those who have entered into any such undertakings with their own resources. But when resting principally on credit, and pursued at the same time by a great portion of the dealers or men of enterprise, a general impossibility of fulfilling previous engagements takes place, which affects even those who are ultimately solvent. That mutual confidence, which is the sole foundation of credit, being once shaken, the capitals that are usually loaned can no longer be obtained, the usual amount of bills of exchange, discounted notes, or other commercial papers founded on credit, is lessened, and specie or currency itself becomes comparatively scarce, partly because some is hoarded, principally because a portion of its substitutes is withdrawn from circulation. Yet specie, under those circumstances, acts but a subordinate part, its scarcity being the effect, and not the cause, of the evil, and the remedy to this consisting in restoring credit and confidence, which will always procure a sufficient amount of currency, and not in an attempt to increase the quantity of currency, which can produce no substantial benefit until confidence is restored. When it consists of paper founded on credit, any increase is inefficient for remedying the evil, unless it be issued by an institution, the credit of which has, in the general wreck, remained unaffected and unimpaired.

The commencement of the year 1793, was, in England, a season of great and universal commercial distress. It had, as usual, been preceded by a period of great apparent prosperity, which had stimulated overtrading; and this had been followed by its unavoidable consequences. More than one hundred country banks failed, or suspended their payments; the distress was general, the credit of solvent houses was affected, the usual accommodations, which enabled them to have their bills discounted, and to meet the demands against them, were withdrawn, and the complaint of *want of money* was universal. Under those circumstances, government interfered, and loaned, or offered to loan, to solvent dealers, five millions sterling in exchequer bills. The remedy was effectual; the whole amount offered to be loaned was not even applied for; and, in a very short time, confidence was restored, and every one who was not actually insolvent was able to meet his engagements. But exchequer bills are not currency, but only a promise to pay currency at the end of one year. Government did not lend currency, or add a single shilling to its amount. The credit of individuals had received a severe and general shock, and that of government, which was unimpaired, was substituted for private credit. Those who had capital to lend, and would not advance it on private security, or who, in other words, would not discount the

bills of individuals, lent that capital, or the currency which was wanted, on public security, or, in other words, discounted the exchequer bills, that is to say, the bills of government. The distress, the pretended want of money, was relieved, not by any additional issues of currency, the amount of which must therefore have been sufficient, but by restoring private confidence and private credit.

It is also evident, that what was then effected by government, might have been done by the Bank of England, had that institution, more sparing of its resources, during the preceding period of prosperity and incautious enterprise, been enabled, when the revulsion took place, to lend its credit to solvent houses, by discounting their bills, and increasing its issues of paper currency. It may be presumed, that, having already overstrained its resources, the bank could not have done this, without endangering its own credit, and running the risk of being unable to pay its own notes, if their amount was increased. But the mode adopted by government, and which proved so efficacious, makes it obvious, that, had the bank been enabled, without the aid of the treasury, to relieve the distress, and, what was called the want of money, the relief afforded would have been the result, much less, if at all, of the enlarged issues of bank notes, than of its lending its credit to those solvent dealers whose credit was impaired.

As a bank cannot increase its discounts without increasing its circulation, the two operations, being in its hands inseparable, are generally confounded. The manner in which the British government afforded relief in the year 1793, conclusively proves that they are essentially distinct, even in a country where the currency consists principally of paper founded on credit, and that the demand always made on banks in times of pressure, for enlarged issues of bank notes, is not a demand for currency but for credit. Cautious and well directed banks will always afford great relief in such times, if enabled by the previous prudent administration of their affairs to lend their credit to solvent dealers ; which cannot be done without enlarging their issues. If, on the contrary, this has already been done to its utmost extent, if during a period of high prices and great apparent prosperity, the spirit of enterprise, naturally excited by that state of things, and which required them to be checked, has, on the contrary, been stimulated by incautious loans and consequent issues of paper on the part of the banks, the result will be, and has every where always been, as fatal as unavoidable. When the revulsion takes place, when, from excessive competition or imprudent speculation, the market becomes glutted with a superabundance far exceeding the demand of any species of commodity, often in the United States of land itself, or when, from want of skill

or any other cause, undertakings have altogether failed, or when the slow returns of such undertakings require years to be realized, and both capital and credit are exhausted; at the very time when the aid of banks would be most wanted, those institutions, prematurely disabled, instead of simultaneously enlarging their issues, and lending their credit to solvent but embarrassed dealers, manufacturers and farmers, are compelled in self defence to contract their issues and loans, and thus greatly to aggravate the evil, which they had at least neglected to check, if they were not instrumental in its growth.

In countries, therefore, the currency of which consists principally of bank paper, banks will have a beneficial or pernicious influence on credit, and a currency depending on credit, according to the manner in which they may be administered, useful when their operations in prosperous times and whilst under their control, are regulated by probity, great discretion, and skill; pernicious when their administration is defective in any of those respects. But in countries, where the currency consists wholly or principally of the precious metals, and where bankers lend money and discount bills, but do not issue a paper currency, the two operations are never confounded; and although not exempt from commercial revulsions, they will be of less common occurrence, and have little or no influence on currency itself. It may be confidently affirmed, that the precious metals, under any circumstances whatever, and amidst all the temporary fluctuations arising from a disproportion between supply and demand, continue to be a more permanent standard of value than any other commodity, or any species of paper resting on an element so variable as credit.

The substitution of a paper currency to the precious metals, does not appear to be attended with any other substantial advantage than its cheapness; and the actual benefit may be calculated with tolerable accuracy. If in a country which wants and does possess a metallic currency of seventy millions of dollars, a paper currency to the same amount should be substituted, the seventy millions in gold and silver, being no longer wanted for that purpose, will be exported, and the returns may be converted into a productive capital, and add an equal amount to the wealth of the country. If the banking system, founded on the principle of a paper currency convertible at will into specie, is adopted, and notes of a very low denomination are excluded, it will be found, that the circulation of the United States consists of about sixty millions in bank notes and ten millions in silver.*

* It has been lately stated, that the bank notes of every description in England, amount to twenty-eight millions sterling; and the bullion in the vaults of the bank, to thirteen millions. If this is correct, the capital saved is only fifteen millions, and the annual profit, derived from the paper currency, six hundred millions pounds sterling.

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But in that case the banks, in order to sustain specie payments, must, on an average, have in their vaults about twenty millions in specie. This is believed to be nearly the state of things at this time in the United States, if, according to common usage, we consider bank notes as constituting the whole of the paper currency. There have been, therefore, on that principle, only forty millions of dollars saved and added to the productive capital of the country. This, at the rate of 5 per cent. a year, may be considered as equal to an additional annual national profit of two millions of dollars. The substitution of bank notes to a metallic currency produces the same effect, as an addition of two millions a-year, to the exports of the United States, or as a diminution of taxes to the same amount. Being inclined to think that the credits on the books of the banks, called *deposits* in the United States, constitute to all intents and purposes a part of their currency, we believe that the benefit derived from the banking system is still greater, and is tantamount to an annual national saving, or additional profit, of near four millions of dollars.* This is certainly an important advantage, provided the system is conducted so as to afford complete security; and it would be altogether free of objection, if the banks were only banks of deposit and issued no paper. Barns are certainly a very expensive implement of agriculture. The capital expended on those buildings, in the middle and northern states, is more than the value of one year's crop of the farms, and causes therefore a deduction of more than 5 per cent. on the annual gross produce of the earth. To dispense with barns would be a greater annual saving, than that which arises from a substitution of a paper to a metallic currency. Some favourable seasons occur, when the farmer might thresh his wheat on a temporary floor exposed to the weather, and dispense with a barn. Yet, in our climate, every prudent farmer prefers security to a precarious advantage, and would consider it a most wretched economy, not to incur the expense necessary for that object. Similar is the economy of that expensive instrument, the precious metals, if the substituted paper currency is insecure. To unite that security, which is derived from a uniform and permanent standard of value, with the acknowledged and considerable saving arising from the substitution, is the difficult problem to be solved, in every country that resorts to that cheaper species of circulating medium.

* We do not take into consideration the annual amount wanted to repair the loss occasioned by friction in gold and silver coins. This has been greatly over-rated by respectable British writers, but according to the various opinions deduced from actual experiments, cannot exceed, taking the highest computation, and is probably less, than seventy thousand dollars a-year, on a coinage of forty millions.

A paper currency is either convertible at will into specie, or redeemable at some future time, or altogether irredeemable. The two last descriptions are excluded by the Constitution of the United States, and require examination, only because experience has shown, that a currency of the first description may degenerate into one not convertible into specie, without, on that account, ceasing to be the only currency of the country. It is, however, hardly necessary to add any further arguments intended to refute the opinions of those who contend for issues of paper money to an indefinite amount, without regard to the fundamental principle, that the demand is for value, and that it is impossible to increase the amount of currency beyond certain limits, without producing a corresponding depreciation in its value. A recurrence to that principle is sufficient to dissipate the singular illusion under which that opinion is advanced.

We find, in a paper laid before the Senate during their last session, that, according to the increase of population since the year 1820, there ought to have been, since that time, a demand for thirty-two millions of acres of the public lands, which, at the present price of 1½ dollars per acre, would have yielded forty millions of dollars, (or four millions a-year,) whilst the annual sales amount only to one million, "the reason for which is want of money to purchase." The remedy proposed in the sequel, is an issue of paper money by government, the general benefit of which, according to the writer, would be stupendous. "Were our own government to increase our circulating medium *only* fifty millions of dollars, income-yielding property would rise two thousand millions of dollars."

The word "money" is used as synonymous with specie and currency. But as currency is the thing by which every thing else is valued, the value of every species of property is expressed in currency. A planter, possessed of property, which, in usual times, might be sold for one hundred thousand dollars, is accordingly said to be worth one hundred thousand dollars, though he may not, at any one time, have in his possession one thousand dollars in currency. The word money comes thus to be used as synonymous with wealth; and, in that sense of the word, we agree with the respectable writer of the paper in question, that the reason why the sales of the public lands have not far exceeded one million of dollars a year, has been the want of money, that is to say, of wealth on the part of those who would have wished to purchase. From the other writings of the same author, we had concluded, that he was in favour of issues of paper money almost to an indefinite amount. But it appears by this paper, that he is perfectly aware, that a very limited amount of currency is sufficient; since he avers that an additional issue of fifty millions would produce, on the value of the productive property of

the country, an effect forty times as great as that issue. This reduces the question to one of quantity, and whether the amount of currency supplied by the banking system now existing is insufficient, and ought to be increased by an issue of government paper. As it is the interest of the banks to issue as many notes as can be kept in circulation, and as they are authorized by their charters to issue more than three times the present amount, it is clear that the obligation to pay their notes in specie on demand is the sole reason why that amount is not greater. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary, in order to enlarge it, that the proposed new issue should consist of a government paper money, not convertible into specie on demand. It could not, according to the Constitution, be made a legal tender for the payment of debts between individuals, and might only be made receivable in payment of debts due to the United States. It is evident that such paper could not circulate a single day in competition with that of the banks, which is received not only for that purpose, but in payment of all debts, and is at all times convertible into specie. The new paper would be immediately depreciated in proportion to its amount, and produce no other effect than that of lessening the revenue of the United States in the same proportion. It would be much more simple, if that was the object, to reduce the rate of existing taxes; with respect to the public lands, to reduce the price at which they are now sold. We believe that this last measure would be equally just and consistent with sound policy, and that the great change of circumstances which has taken place, and principally the superabundant supply of public lands, compared with the *effective* demand at the present price, imperatively require a reduction of that price. Those lands are the property of the people of the United States at large, and cannot be given gratuitously either to particular individuals or to particular states. But they should not be kept out of market by persevering in a price, that was adapted to the time when it was fixed, and no longer accords, either with the greatness of the supply, or with the wealth of the natural purchasers, of those who want them for their own use, and who may, if the expression is admissible, be considered as the consumers of that commodity.

But supposing, for the sake of argument, that this additional issue of paper by government should not experience any depreciation, and should circulate at the same rate, as bank notes convertible on demand into specie, not the slightest advantage would accrue to the purchaser of public lands, or to any other individual. If not depreciated, the same quantity of labour, of wheat, or of any other commodity, will be necessary, and must be given, in order to obtain an equal quantity either of that paper, of bank notes, or of specie. If depreciated and circulating, the farmer

might indeed obtain two dollars of that paper, instead of one in specie, for a bushel of wheat, and the labourer receive one dollar nominal, instead of half a dollar in specie, for a day's labour. But what benefit would arise to either? Since the farmer would be obliged to pay also a double nominal price for the labour he wanted, and the labourer a similar double price for the farmer's wheat, and since both would likewise be obliged to give a double price for any article they might want, when paid with that paper. This is so simple and obvious, that we are entirely unable to understand on what grounds the contrary doctrine can be sustained. After having tried to understand what was meant by those who pretend to argue in support of excessive issues of paper money, we have found nothing but a repetition of the erroneous assertions, on which the famous Law attempted to build the stupendous scheme which bears his name and desolated France in the year 1720. He asserted, 1st, that gold and silver were only the representative or sign of wealth; 2d, that paper might be that sign as well as the precious metals; 3d, that by doubling or trebling the amount of that sign, the national wealth would be increased to that amount; 4th, that such increase of the currency would reduce the rate of interest, and thereby promote industry. It is hardly necessary to show that those assertions are a series of errors, and some of them, voluntary errors. The precious metals are not merely the sign or representative of wealth; they have an intrinsic value, on account of the cost of their production, and of the demand for other uses than currency, and are therefore wealth itself. It is because they have an intrinsic and comparatively stable value, that they have become the standard of the value of every other commodity, or, according to Law's vocabulary, the representative or sign of wealth. A certain quantity of those signs is necessary for a circulating medium; but the quantity used adds nothing more to the wealth of any country, than the intrinsic value of that quantity. Paper having no intrinsic value, never can, whatever its amount may be, add any thing directly to the national wealth. Its utility consists in the substitution of a sign of no value for a sign which has an intrinsic value, and which may, on that account, be used advantageously for other purposes than that of a sign. Having performed that office, the increase of paper, beyond the amount of the valuable sign of which it takes the place, neither adds nor produces any wealth. The multiplication of the signs, beyond the amount in value wanted, can have no other effect than that of depreciating their nominal value, and has none on the rate of interest, which depends, not on the amount of those signs, or of currency, but on the proportion between the amount or supply of capital which may be loaned, and the demand for that capital. The result of Law's scheme was a fatal illustration of his doctrines. By a series

of arbitrary acts on the part of government, and by connecting some splendid and illusory schemes with the bank, he succeeded in putting in circulation about four hundred and twenty millions of dollars in bank notes, or more than twice the amount of the currency then wanted in France. This paper was made a legal tender, to the total exclusion of the precious metals. But the laws, and all the power of the French government, were unequal to the task of sustaining that excess of currency. The price of every species of merchandise naturally rose 100 per cent. Government, with a view probably to prevent a total catastrophe, reduced by a decree the notes to one half of their nominal value. The bubble burst instantaneously. The whole currency of the country, the four hundred and fifty millions dollars of bank notes, could not, the next day, have been sold for the value of the paper on which they were printed. They were subsequently funded at the rate of eighty for one. The public creditors, who had been paid in notes, lost one hundred and fifty millions of their capital. Some speculators in shares were enriched; all the actual stockholders were ruined; and the calamity extended to all the industrious and productive part of the community. Since that time banks have not been connected with such gross commercial bubbles. But in England, the South Sea scheme, and the joint stock companies of the year 1825, were erected on the model of the Mississippi Company of Law; and the Assignats of the French revolution, as well as all the other attempts to substitute an excessive issue of pure paper money to a metallic currency, have been but copies of his bank notes.

It has been contended by distinguished writers of a very different description, that an irredeemable paper currency, not exceeding in its nominal amount that in value which is actually wanted, might be altogether substituted to gold and silver, provided that government should always regulate the issues so as never to exceed or fall short of that amount, and thereby preserve the stability of its value. The advantage of such paper, over notes convertible on demand in specie, would consist in saving the expense of the gold and silver necessary to pay such notes at the will of the holders, and in protecting the currency against both a panic, and the consequences of any great drain of the precious metals from abroad; dangers to both of which notes payable in specie are exposed. It must, in the first place, be observed, that the unavoidable effect of an increased or diminished value of the currency, arising from contraction or excess of its amount beyond certain limits, is ultimately to sink or to raise the price of every other commodity. But this change may not affect immediately the price of the commodities or of the labour applied to objects not susceptible of being exported; and that of exportable commodities is often affected by variations in the

relative amount of supply and demand, which are altogether foreign to the state of the currency. The wisest government, with the purest views, never has any other means of ascertaining, whether the amount of a paper money is too limited or excessive, than the price of the precious metals in such paper, because those metals are, of all others, the commodity least liable to variations in its value. The rate of exchanges may occasionally be a more sensitive test, but is in reality a more circuitous and less certain mode of resorting to the same standard of value. Thus government has no means to ascertain, whether its issues are too contracted or too large, till after the evil has actually taken place; whilst banks, obliged to pay their notes in specie, and skilfully directed, are constantly employed in preventing its occurrence. But supposing government to be endowed with such skill as to be able always to adjust the proper amount of currency; an amount which, if this is metallic, adjusts itself, and which by banks properly conducted may be tolerably well regulated; there is still an ingredient, inherent to paper not convertible on demand in specie, which no human skill can control. This is public opinion, with respect to future contingencies, and therefore purely conjectural.

It has been asserted, that the value of an irredeemable paper money is altogether regulated by its amount, and does not, or at least ought not, to depend on confidence in the solvency of the government by which it is issued. The last assertion may be strictly true, though we believe, that in point of fact, there has hardly been any issue of paper, which in its origin was not founded on an explicit or implied promise to redeem it. But, if not depending on confidence in the solvency, the value of the paper will most certainly be affected by the public confidence in the skill, discretion, and probity of government, these being the only guarantees against excessive issues, and experience having but too well proved the natural disposition of every government which ever did issue paper, to resort, whenever pressed by its exigencies, to that resource, without regard to amount and consequences. Our principal concern, however, is with paper, originally convertible on demand in specie, and which has degenerated into a paper, the redemption of which is indefinitely postponed. It is evident that the value of such currency must depend on the probability of its being ever redeemed, or of specie payments being resumed, and of the time when this will take place. And as there lies the danger to which the currency of the United States is exposed, we will illustrate that position by some instances.

The paper money issued by Congress during the war of the American independence, experienced no sensible depreciation before the year 1776, and so long as the amount did not exceed

nine millions of dollars. A paper currency, equal in value to that sum in gold or silver, could therefore be sustained so long as confidence was preserved. The issues were gradually increased during the ensuing years, and in April 1778, amounted to thirty millions. A depreciation was the natural consequence; but had the value of the paper depended solely on its amount, the whole quantity in circulation would have still been equal in value to nine millions, and the depreciation should not have been more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; instead of which, it was then at the rate of six dollars in paper for one silver dollar, and the whole amount of the paper in circulation was worth only five millions in silver. It is obvious that the difference was due to lessened confidence. The capture of Burgoyne's army was followed by the alliance with France, and her becoming a party to the war against England. The result of the war was no longer considered as doubtful, and sanguine expectations were formed of its speedy termination. The paper accordingly rose in value; and in June, 1778, although the issues had been increased to more than forty-five millions, the depreciation was at the rate of only four to one. From the end of April of that year, to the month of February, 1779, although the issues had been increased from thirty-five to one hundred and fifteen millions, the average value in silver of the whole amount of paper in circulation exceeded ten millions, and it was at one time nearly thirteen millions, or considerably more than that which could be sustained at the outset of the hostilities. But when it was discovered, that the war would be of longer continuance, confidence in the redemption of a paper money, daily increasing in amount, was again suddenly lessened. The depreciation increased from the rate of 6 to that of 30 to 1 in nine months. The average value in silver of the whole amount of paper in circulation from April to September 1779, was about six millions, and it sunk below five during the end of the year. The total amount of the paper was at that time two hundred millions; and although no further issues took place, and a portion was absorbed by the loan offices and by taxes, the depreciation still increased, and was at the end of the year 1780 at the rate of 80 dollars in paper for 1 in silver. The value in silver of the paper currency, was then less than two millions and a half of dollars; and when Congress, in March following, acknowledged the depreciation, and offered to exchange the old for new paper at the rate of 40 for one, the old sunk in one day to nothing, and the new shared the same fate.

The aggregate of bank notes of the Bank of England and country banks was nearly the same in the years 1810, 1813, and 1818, being, for each of those years respectively, about forty-six millions, forty-six millions two hundred thousand, and forty-six millions seven hundred thousand pounds sterling; and

the value in gold of the aggregate amount of notes was, for each of those years respectively, forty, thirty-five and a half, and forty-five and a half millions. A result nearly similar, will be found by comparing periods of years. The average amount of the notes in circulation was about forty-six millions for the years 1810, 1811; forty-five millions two hundred thousand for the years 1812 to 1816; and forty-four millions four hundred thousand, for the years 1817 to 1819; and the average value in gold of those notes, for each of those periods respectively, was forty-one, thirty-six, and forty-three millions. It is obvious that those differences, in the respective value in gold of the whole amount of the currency, did not depend on its amount, but on the opinion entertained, either of the probable increase or contraction of the notes, or of the resumption of the specie payments. Had the depreciation of the notes depended solely on their excess, it would have been nearly the same in the years 1810, 1813, and 1818, when that amount was nearly the same. Reducing into gold the value of the whole currency, no other reason can be assigned but a greater or less degree of confidence, why a paper currency worth forty-five and a half millions could be sustained in 1818, whilst no greater value than thirty-five and a half millions circulated in 1813. It is indeed evident, that the confidence in the resumption of specie payments must have been greater in 1810, and much greater in 1818, than in 1813; and that, independent of the intrinsic value of the bank notes, as regulated by their amount, they must, whenever depreciated, acquire some additional value, according to the opinion entertained of their being again converted into specie, and of the proximity of that event.

A still more striking instance of the sudden alterations in value, to which notes not convertible into specie are liable, is to be found in that which took place in England, in the spring of 1815, on the landing of Bonaparte from the Island of Elba. The bank notes had gradually risen in value since the peace, and were not depreciated more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the beginning of March. Towards the end of that month, and within less than a fortnight, the depreciation was 25 per cent., although there had been, during that time, neither additional issues of paper, nor exportation of the precious metals. We will quote only one more instance of a similar nature. During the general suspension of specie payments in the United States, the depreciation of the bank notes varied in the several sea ports. Those of the Baltimore banks were at 20 per cent. discount, in January 1815. The Treaty of Peace was ratified and published in the month of February; and as the suspension of specie payments had not lasted six months, and was caused by the war, a general expectation immediately prevailed, that those payments would be

forthwith resumed. Accordingly, bank notes rose every where in value, and, in March, the discount on those of Baltimore was only 5 per cent. As that expectation was disappointed, the notes again sunk in value, and, in July, those of Baltimore were again at a discount of 20 per cent.

It is believed, that no doubt can now remain, that a paper currency, liable to such fluctuations, due to causes that baffle all calculation, never can, by any skill whatever, be made a stable standard of value. But we cannot conceal from ourselves, that specie paying banks are not only exposed to extraordinary drains from abroad, but are also subject to moral causes, the effects of which cannot be calculated, nor without great skill and discretion be always prevented. These never affect a metallic currency, which has an intrinsic value, varying less than that of any other commodity, and not at all depending, as paper, on confidence, fear, conjectures, or any of the fluctuations of public opinions. It is equally clear, that extraordinary drains of specie, occasionally inconvenient when the currency is purely or principally metallic, may be fatal to one which consists of bank notes convertible on demand into specie. Supposing the currency of a country to consist of one hundred millions, a drain of twenty millions from abroad, would produce great inconvenience, but not beyond that of contracting the metallic currency to that extent, until commerce had supplied the deficiency. But, if consisting of bank notes, sustained by twenty millions of specie in the vaults of the banks, the basis being withdrawn, the whole fabric is at once overthrown, and specie payments must be suspended.

One of the most fatal effects of that suspension, is the great and unavoidable distress, which attends a return to a specie currency; particularly when the suspension has been of long continuance. Whilst this lasts, the loss falls in the first instance on the creditors; but new contracts are daily made, founded on the existing state of the currency; and should the suspension continue twenty years, as was the case in England, almost all the contracts in force, and not yet executed, at the time when specie payments are resumed, having been made when the currency was depreciated, the obligation to discharge them in specie, is contrary to equity, falls on the debtors, who are always the part of the community less able to bear the burthen, and is more calamitous than the suspension had been. Short in duration as this had been in the United States, the effect was sensibly felt, and to this cause, which also occasioned the failure of a number of new banks, must in a great degree be ascribed the great and general distress of the years 1818-1819. The *relief* laws of some of the states, and, in England the corn laws, may be traced to the same source. In that country, after so long a suspension of

specie payments, the calamity has necessarily been far more extensive and lasting. It is yet felt, and many still seek for remedies worse than the evil, and call for small notes, excessive issues, and all those measures which would lead again necessarily to an inconvertible paper currency.

Considerations of this nature, may well have suggested to the Committee of the House of Representatives, the question, whether a metallic currency would not, in the United States, have been preferable to one consisting of bank notes. And we would incline to the affirmative, if the system was not already established, and if we believed, that an attempt to return to a pure metallic currency, which could not, without producing great evils, be suddenly carried into effect, was at all practicable. Were not this the case, we would think, that a system of commercial credit, founded on deposits, and bills of exchange and other commercial paper, such as is carried on by the bankers of London and by all the bankers of the Continent of Europe, neither of whom issues any notes in the shape of currency, would afford to commerce, at least in commercial cities, nearly, if not altogether the same accommodations and advantages which are found in the present system. Commercial revulsions and numerous failures amongst dealers, as they may occur wherever there has been excessive overtrading, though less frequent, do nevertheless occasionally take place in countries which have only a metallic currency. But their effect is generally confined to the dealers, extending but indirectly and feebly to the community, and never affecting the currency, the standard of value, or the contracts between persons not concerned in the failures. It must be allowed at the same time that, in the country, where the system of deposits cannot exist to the same extent as in cities, banks soberly and skilfully administered, stimulate industry by the facility which their loans afford to men of enterprise, and that the ability of those banks to make those advances would be much curtailed, if altogether precluded from issuing notes.

There are, however, even in England, where incorporated country banks, issuing paper, are as numerous, and have been attended with the same advantages and the same evils as our country banks, some extensive districts, highly industrious and prosperous, where no such bank does exist, and where that want is supplied by bills of exchange drawn on London. This is the case in Lancashire, which includes Liverpool and Manchester, and where such bills, drawn at ninety days after date, are endorsed by each successive holder, and circulate through numerous persons before they reach their ultimate destination, and are paid by the drawee. It has been contended that these substitutes for currency, and in one respect performing its office, must be considered as forming part of it; and this assertion has been

carried so far, as to insist that there was in England a circulation of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars in bills of exchange, which was of the same character. As this view of the subject would materially affect the result of any inquiry respecting currency, the question must be examined, and extended to private notes and to bank deposits.

It is difficult to distinguish a note on demand drawn by a private individual from a bank note, in countries where every individual is left at liberty to throw such notes in circulation as part of the currency. The discrimination has always been made on the Continent of Europe, where it is not believed that any paper of that description has ever been permitted to be issued by any person or company not specially authorized to that effect. We are not aware that any similar general restriction exists in Great Britain, and that others are to be found there, than the clause, in favour of the Bank of England, which forbids banking associations to consist of more than a limited number of partners, and the late laws forbidding, except in Scotland, the issue of notes under five pounds. The same liberty seems to have originally existed in the United States, but has subsequently been restrained by their several laws to incorporated banks. A solitary exception is to be found in Mr. Stephen Girard's Bank, which was previously established, and which, from his great wealth, skilful caution, and personal character, is justly entitled to as much credit as any chartered bank in the United States. Congress has not, however, passed any law preventing the issue of notes by the corporation of the city of Washington, and there is still a small amount of paper in circulation, issued by the state of North Carolina. In every other respect, the currency of the United States, so far as it consists of notes, is strictly confined to bank notes issued by chartered companies.

A bill of exchange, drawn by an individual or individuals, who do not issue notes having the character of currency, appears to us to be clearly distinguishable from a bank note, though it is a substitute, and lessens the amount of currency which would otherwise be required. A payment made in bank notes is a discharge of the debt, the creditor having no further recourse against the person from whom he has received the notes, unless the bank had previously failed. The bill of exchange does not discharge the debt, the person who receives it having his recourse against the drawer and every preceding endorser, in case the drawee should fail or refuse to pay. But the essential distinction is, that the bills of exchange are only a promise to pay in currency, and that the failure of the drawers, drawees and indorsers does not, in the slightest degree, affect the value of the currency itself, or impair that permanent standard of value by which the performance of all contracts is regulated. The case is, however, quite

different, when the bills are drawn by a bank authorized to issue bank notes which make part of the currency. We perceive no difference between such drafts, particularly when paid at sight, and either post notes or ordinary notes. Five dollar drafts, drawn by the branches of the Bank of the United States on the bank, circulate at this moment in common with the usual five dollar notes. Similar drafts, varying in amount to suit the convenience of purchasers, are daily drawn by the bank on its offices, and by those offices on each other or on the bank. Many of those drafts pass through several hands, and circulate several months, in distant parts of the country, before they are presented for payment. The holders of those bills have the same security, the same recourse against the bank, as the holders of bank notes. Those bills are of the same character, depend on the same security, and in case of failure would share the same fate with bank notes. Though not usually included in the amount of the circulation of the bank, we cannot but consider the average amount in actual circulation, as making part of the currency of the country. A question somewhat more difficult arises with respect to credits in account current on the books of the banks, commonly designated in the United States by the name of "deposits," and which may perhaps be more easily solved by reducing it to its most simple form, that is to say, by first considering banks purely of deposit.

That of Hamburg, which still exists, is the most perfect of the kind. It neither issues bank notes, nor discounts notes or bills of exchange, but only receives silver in bars on deposit. For every bar containing a certain weight, called "marc of Cologne," (equivalent to 3,608 grains troy weight,) of silver of a certain standard,* the bank gives a credit on its books of 442 lubs B^{co}. (27 marcs 10 lubs B^{co}.) money of account. Any person having a credit on the books of the bank, may be paid in similar bars at the rate of 444 lubs B^{co}. for a marc weight of Cologne of silver of the same standard. The difference, which is less than one-half per cent., defrays the expenses of the establishment. All the large payments are effected in Hamburg by checks on the bank, and by a corresponding transfer of the credit on its books from one individual to another. The utility of the establishment consists not only in the greater convenience and rapidity with which the payments are effected, but also in having substituted silver of an uniform standard, to a currency which consisted of German coins, varying in standard weight and denomination. The aggregate amount of credits on the books of the bank, being at all times precisely equal, at the rate above

* Containing, according to most authorities, forty-seven parts pure silver, and one part of alloy.

mentioned, to the quantity of silver in its vaults, it would be incomprehensible, and, indeed, absurd, to suppose, that such large capital, having an intrinsic value, should voluntarily be buried in the vaults, unless its representative, or the credits on the books of the bank, performed every office of currency. It is undeniable that this is the fact in every respect, every payment being effected by transfers of those credits, and their convertibility at any time into a determined weight of pure silver, affording the best possible standard of value. This indeed regulates exclusively the value of all the coins, whether in circulation for small payments, or brought to market as bullion.

Let it be supposed now, that it had been found from long experience, that the quantity of silver in the vaults, through all its fluctuations, had never been less than a certain sum, equivalent, for instance, to two millions of dollars. The directors of the establishment might conclude that this amount would, under no circumstances whatever, be withdrawn, or in other words, that this sum was the minimum of the currency wanted to effect the payments made in bank. They might therefore think themselves justifiable, in withdrawing that dormant capital from the vaults, and converting it into an active capital, by lending it to individuals. In this case, the amount of credits on the books of the bank would remain the same, as if that sum in silver had not been withdrawn from its vaults; and all the payments effected by the transfers of those credits would continue to be made precisely as theretofore. The amount of those credits would therefore continue to be, in every respect, the currency of Hamburg, differing from what it was formerly, only in being sustained by a less amount of specie, and in depending, for its ultimate security, on the solidity of those to whom the silver withdrawn from the vaults had been loaned.

What we have stated as a supposititious case, actually took place in the Bank of Amsterdam, constituted on nearly the same principles as that of Hamburg; and from which the directors secretly withdrew more than four millions of dollars, which they lent principally to the Province of Holland and to the City of Amsterdam. And it is, as is well known, what is always done openly and in perfect good faith by all our banks, as well as by the Bank of England and by that of France. The credits in account current or "deposits" of our banks are also, in their origin and effect, perfectly assimilated to bank notes. Any person depositing money in the bank, or having any demand whatever upon it, may at his option be paid in notes, or have the amount entered to his credit on the books of the bank. The bank notes and the deposits rest precisely on the same basis; for immediate payment on the amount of specie in the vaults; for ultimate security on the solidity of the debtors of the bank. In case of a

run upon a bank, or of its failure, the security of the holders of notes is lessened in proportion to the amount of deposits due by the bank. We can in no respect whatever perceive the slightest difference between the two; and we cannot therefore but consider the aggregate amount of credits payable on demand, standing on the books of the several banks, as being, to all intents and purposes, part of the currency of the United States. This, it appears to us, embraces not only bank notes, but all demands upon banks payable at sight, and including their drafts and acceptances. If, in comparing the amount of currency in different countries, we have only included specie and actual issues of paper, it was partly in conformity with received usage, and partly from want of information respecting the amount, in other countries, of the bank credits, which may be considered as perfectly similar to our deposits.

It is well known that the Bank of England, three banks in Scotland, and the Bank of Ireland, are the only chartered banking institutions in the United Kingdom. The capital of the Bank of England, amounting now to fourteen millions pounds sterling, has been loaned altogether to government, at an interest of 3 per cent., and is not to be reimbursed till the expiration of the charter. All the other banks of England, commonly called country banks, consist of private co-partnerships, without any determined capital, and the members of which are liable to the same responsibilities as any other commercial houses. With the exception of Mr. Girard's Bank, all the banks established in the United States are joint stock companies incorporated by law, with a fixed capital, to the extent of which only the stockholders are generally responsible.* The business of all those banks consists, in receiving money on deposit, in issuing bank notes, and in discounting notes of hand or bills of exchange. A portion of the capital is sometimes vested in public stocks; but this is not obligatory; and in this they differ essentially from the Bank of England. The capital of this institution, being loaned to government, and not depending on the solidity of the paper discounted, affords a stable guarantee to the holders of notes and to the depositors. The bank can loan to individuals, or advance to government (beyond its capital as above mentioned) nothing but the difference, between the aggregate of its notes in circulation, and of the credits in account current on its books, and the amount of specie in its vaults. But the American banks lend to individuals, not only that difference, but also the whole amount of their capital, with the exception only of such portion, as they may find it convenient, but are not obliged to vest in public stocks. It follows that the security of the holders of notes, and

* The stockholders are made personally responsible in some of the states.

of the depositors generally, rests exclusively on the solidity of the paper they have discounted. It might seem, on the other hand, that, as the Bank of England cannot apply its original capital to any immediate use, whilst the American banks may, by curtailing their discounts, call in their capital on any emergency, they might, without risk, put in circulation a greater proportionate amount of notes. But such curtailment can never be made to any considerable extent, without causing much distress; and, in point of fact, a large portion of their loans consist of what the merchants consider as permanent accommodation, and, in the country, often rests on real security. This departure from what has been generally deemed the true banking principle, must, it is believed, be ascribed to the original disposition of the charter.

Whenever therefore an American bank is in full operation, its debts generally consist, 1st, to the stockholders, of the capital; 2d, to the community, of the notes in circulation and of the credits in account current, commonly called deposits: and its credits, 1st, of discounted notes or bills of exchange and occasionally of public stocks; 2d, of the specie in its vaults and of the notes of, and balances due by, other banks; 3d, of their real estate, either used for banking purposes or taken in payment of debts. Some other incidental items may sometimes be introduced; a part of the capital is occasionally invested in road, canal, and bridge stocks, and the debts, secured on judgments, or bonds and mortgages, are generally distinguished in the official returns of the banks. In order to give a clear view of the subject, we annex an abstract of the situation of the thirty-one chartered banks of Pennsylvania, in November, 1829.

Capital, - - - - -	\$12,032,000
Notes in circulation, \$7,270,000 } - - -	16,028,000
Deposits, - - - - 8,758,000 } - - -	1,142,000
Surplus funds, - - - - -	<hr/> \$29,202,000
Bills discounted, - - - - -	\$17,526,000
Public stocks,* - - - - -	} - - - 4,620,000
Road, canal, and bridge stocks, - - - - -	
Debts secured on mortgages, &c. - - - - -	
Real estate, - - - - -	1,310,000
Notes of other banks, } - - - - -	3,338,000
And due by other banks, } - - - - -	2,408,000
Specie, - - - - -	<hr/> \$29,202,000

* The public stocks are not distinguished from others in the statement of the Bank of Pennsylvania. Those held by the other banks amount to \$1,588,000.

It will be easily perceived, 1st, that what is called the surplus, and sometimes the reserved or contingent fund, is nothing more than that which balances the account, or the difference between the debits and credits of the banks; and that, in order to be enabled to repay, at the expiration of the charter, to the stockholders, the full amount of their stock, that fund or difference ought, in every sound bank, to be sufficient to cover all the bad debts, and all the losses, which may be incurred on the sale of the various stocks held by it, and of its real estate: 2dly, that the deposits may at any time be converted into bank notes, and that both ought, in correct language, to be included under the denomination of circulation: 3dly, that the notes of other banks on hand, form no part of the circulation, and ought, when considering the banking system as a whole, to be deducted from the amount of the notes in circulation; and that, for the same reason, inasmuch as the balances due to other banks by the several banks, are included in the deposits, the balances due by such other banks ought also to be deducted from that item, which would reduce the aggregate of those two items, in the preceding statement, to twelve millions six hundred and ninety thousand dollars: 4thly, that the capital is the only item in the account apparently invariable, though it may occasionally be increased by legislative permission, and lessened by purchases of their own stock by the banks; and that all the other items are variable, and do vary according to the operations of the banks: 5thly, that supposing the second and third items of credits to remain the same, the circulation, or aggregate of deposits and notes in circulation, cannot be either increased or decreased, without a corresponding decrease or increase, either of the bills discounted, or of the specie, or of both: 6thly, that by limiting by law the amount of the debts due to the banks, as included in the two first items of the credits, to a sum bearing a certain ratio to the capital, and by likewise limiting, in a similar manner, the gross amount of the notes in circulation, both those limitations being always under the control of the banks, excessive issues may be prevented: 7thly, that if the situation of the banks of Pennsylvania in the aggregate be taken as a proper basis for those limitations, the whole amount of debts due to a bank ought not to exceed twice, nor the gross amount of its notes in circulation, two-thirds of the amount of its capital. But it must not be forgotten, that, although those limitations would be useful in checking the amount of loans and issues, the ultimate solvency of a bank always depends on the solidity of the paper it discounts.

The capital of the state banks existing in the year 1790, amounted to about two millions of dollars. The former bank

of the United States was chartered in 1791, with a capital of ten millions. The charter was not renewed; but in January, 1811, immediately before its expiration, there were in the United States eighty-four state banks, with a capital of forty-two millions eight hundred and eighty thousand dollars, making then, together with that of the national bank, a banking capital of near fifty-three millions. In June, 1812, war was declared against England; and in August and September, 1814, all the banks south and west of New-England suspended their specie payments.

It has always been found difficult to ascertain with precision the causes which, in each special case, produce an extraordinary drain of specie, and compel a bank to suspend its payments. Although it clearly appears that very large and unforeseen advances to government were the immediate cause of the suspension of the payments of the Bank of England in the year 1797, it would seem, at this distance of time, to have been easy to prevent that occurrence. The bills of exchange from abroad on government, or any other floating debt, for the payment of which the bank was required to make those advances, might with facility have been converted into funded debt. And when we find, that, in less than seven months after the suspension, the bank declared, by a solemn resolution, that it was enabled to issue specie, and could with safety resume its accustomed functions, if the political circumstances of the country did not render it inexpedient, it is hardly possible to doubt that the suspension, in its origin, as well as in its continuance, was a voluntary act on the part of government. Opinions are however divided to this day on that subject; and some distinguished English writers ascribe that event to some unaccountable panic. There can be no doubt, that there was a great and continued run on the bank for specie prior to the suspension; and what renders the transaction still more inexplicable, is, that, almost immediately, and during some years after the suspension had actually taken place, the bank notes, though no longer convertible into specie, were at par. The question is not free of difficulty as respects the similar event in the United States.

The following reasons were assigned by the directors of the chartered banks of Philadelphia, in an address to their fellow-citizens, dated the 30th of August, 1813.

“From the moment when the rigorous blockade of the ports of the United States prevented the exportation of our produce, foreign supplies could be paid for in specie only, and as the importation of foreign goods in the Eastern States has been very large, it has for many months past occasioned a continual drain from the banks. This drain has been much increased by a trade in British Government Bills of Exchange, which has been extensively carried on, and has caused very large sums to be exported from the United States.

"To meet this great demand for specie, the course of trade did, for a considerable time, enable us to draw large supplies from the Southern States—but the unhappy situation of affairs there, having deprived us of that resource, and circumstances having occurred, which have in a considerable degree occasioned alarm and distrust, it became a serious consideration, whether the banks should continue their exertions to draw within their vaults the specie capital of the country, and thus facilitate the means of exporting it from the United States,—or whether they should suspend the payment of specie, before their means were exhausted."

The great drain from the east, alluded to by the Philadelphia banks, is proved by the comparative view of the specie in the vaults of the banks of Massachusetts, in June 1814, immediately before the suspension of payments, and on the same days of the preceding and succeeding years.—

This amounted on the 1st of June 1811	to	\$1,709,000
“ “ “ 1812	“	3,915,000
“ “ “ 1813	“	6,171,000
“ “ “ 1814	“	7,326,000
“ “ “ 1815	“	3,915,000
“ “ “ 1816	“	1,270,000

And the fact, that a large amount of British government bills was sent to this country from Canada in the years 1812 and 1813, and sold at 20 and 22 per cent. discount, is corroborated by authentic information from several quarters. Other causes, however, concurred in producing the suspension of specie payments.

1. The circulating capital of the United States, which must supply the loans required in time of war, is concentrated in the large cities, and principally north of the Potomac. The war was unpopular in the Eastern States; they contributed less than from their wealth might have been anticipated; and the burthen fell on the Middle States. The proceeds of loans, (exclusively of Treasury notes, and temporary loans,) paid into the Treasury from the commencement of the war to the end of the year 1814, amounted to forty-one millions ten thousand dollars.—

Of that sum the Eastern States lent, - - - -	\$ 2,900,000
New-York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the }	35,790,000
District of Columbia, }	
The Southern and Western States, - - - -	2,320,000

The floating debt, consisting of outstanding Treasury notes and temporary loans unpaid, amounted, on the 1st of January 1815, to eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, about four-fifths of which were also due to the Middle States. Almost the whole of the large amount, advanced to government in those States, was loaned by the cities of New-York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and by the District. The banks made advances beyond their resources, either by their own subscriptions or by

enlarging their discounts in favour of the subscribers. They, as well as several wealthy and patriotic citizens, displayed great zeal in sustaining government at a critical moment; and the banks were for that purpose compelled to enlarge their issues.

2. The dissolution of the Bank of the United States deprived the country of a foreign capital of more than seven millions of dollars, vested in the stock of that institution, and which was accordingly remitted abroad during the year that preceded the war. At the same time, the state banks had taken up a considerable part of the paper formerly discounted by that of the United States. As the amount of this exceeded fifteen millions, their aid in that respect was absolutely necessary, in order to prevent the great distress, which must have otherwise attended such diminution of the usual accommodations.

3. The creation of new state banks, in order to fill the chasm, was a natural consequence of the dissolution of the Bank of the United States. And, as is usual under such circumstances, the expectation of great profits gave birth to a much greater number than was wanted. They were extended through the interior parts of the country, created no new capital, and withdrew that which might have been otherwise lent to government, or as profitably employed. From the 1st of January 1811, to the 1st of January 1815, not less than one hundred and thirty-seven new banks were chartered and went into operation, with a capital of about forty, and making an addition of near thirty millions of dollars to the banking capital of the country. That increase took place on the eve of, and during a war which did nearly annihilate the exports, and both the foreign and domestic commerce. And, the salutary regulating power of the Bank of the United States being removed, the issues were accordingly increased much beyond what the other circumstances already mentioned rendered necessary. We have obtained returns of the circulation and specie, for the latter end of the years 1810, 1814, and 1815, though not all of the same precise date, of a sufficient number of banks to enable us to make an estimate of the whole, which cannot vary essentially from the truth. Our returns of the amount of deposits are too partial for insertion; our authentic returns embrace generally the states of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia, and give the following result:

On or near		Capital.	Notes in circulation.	Specie.
1st Jan'y. 1811—	50 State Banks,	\$ 24,618,551	13,081,328	5,673,442
— 1815—133	“ “	44,257,526	21,995,523	11,452,780
— 1816—137	“ “	49,966,755	29,607,297	8,088,029

Having the amount of the capital and a few general returns of all the other banks, partly guided by analogy, and partly by

their respective dividends, we annex the following estimate of the whole.

	Capital.	Notes in circulation.	Specie.
1st January 1811—Bank of the U. S.	10,000,000	5,400,000	5,880,000
84 State Banks,	42,510,000	22,600,000	9,120,000
Total,	52,510,000	28,000,000	15,000,000
1815—221 State Banks,	82,620,000	44,700,000	17,000,000
1816—242 “ “	90,800,000	66,500,000	19,000,000

The unequal distribution of the specie on the 1st of January 1815, must be recollected.

At that time the banks of the four states of Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New-Hampshire, had	Capital.	Circulation.	Specie.
	\$ 15,690,000	5,320,000	8,200,000
The states of Pennsylvania and Maryland, with the District of Colum- bia, had	26,000,000	13,750,000	3,000,000
And all the other states	40,930,000	25,630,000	5,800,000

The increase of issues, from about forty-five to near sixty-seven millions, or of about 50 per cent., within the first fifteen months of the suspension of specie payments, was the natural consequence of that event. We must observe, that, where we were obliged to resort to an estimate, the amount of bank notes is set down rather too low than too high. Yet, we are confident, that for the three dates we have given, the actual amount cannot have exceeded thirty, forty-seven, and seventy millions respectively. This last sum falls very short indeed of the one hundred and ten millions which were supposed to have been put in circulation by the banks, but is quite sufficient to account for the depreciation. It is equal to the present amount of the currency; and as the increase of wealth during the last fourteen years has at least been in the same proportion as that of the population, the amount which could have been wanted at that time may be estimated at about forty-six millions, including both paper and specie. It is therefore clear that the forty-five millions in bank notes, which had been put in circulation by the state banks before the year 1815, were more than could have been long sustained, preserving at the same time their convertibility into specie. Under those circumstances, the alarm caused by the capture of Washington, and the threatened attack on Baltimore, was sufficient to cause a suspension of specie payments. It took place at that particular crisis, and appears to have originated in Baltimore. The example was immediately followed in Philadelphia and New-York; and it is indeed known, that an attack was apprehended on both those places, and that some of the banks of Philadelphia had sent their specie to Lancaster.

We have stated all the immediate and remote causes within

our knowledge, which concurred in producing that event ; and although the effects of a longer continuance of the war cannot be conjectured, it is our deliberate opinion, that the suspension might have been prevented, and would not have happened at the time when it took place, had the former Bank of the United States been still in existence. The exaggerated increase of state banks, occasioned by the dissolution of that institution, would not have occurred. That bank would, as before, have restrained within proper bounds, and checked their issues : and, through the means of its offices, it would have been in possession of the earliest symptoms of the approaching danger. It would have put the Treasury Department on its guard ; both acting in concert, would certainly have been able at least to retard the event ; and, as the treaty of peace was ratified within less than six months after the suspension took place, that catastrophe would have been altogether avoided.

We have already adverted to the unequivocal symptoms of renewed confidence shown by the rising value of bank notes, which followed the peace. This would have greatly facilitated an immediate resumption of specie payments, always more easy, and attended with far less evils, when the suspension has been of short duration. The banks did not respond to that appeal made by public opinion ; nor is there any evidence of any preparations, or disposition on their part, to pay their notes in specie, until after the act to incorporate the new Bank of the United States had passed. We are inclined to ascribe this principally to the great difficulty of bringing the various banks, in our several commercial cities, to that concert which was indispensable. But it cannot be concealed, that, in such situation, the immediate and apparent interest of the banks is in opposition to that of the public. It is well known, that the Bank of England, though apparently disposed at first to resume its specie payments, found a continued suspension extremely convenient and profitable ; that during that period of twenty years, its extraordinary profits, besides raising the usual dividend from 7 to 10 per cent., amounted to thirteen millions of pounds sterling, and that it accordingly threw obstacles in the way of the resumption. The state banks of the United States were only inactive in that respect, and did not impede that desirable event : but they used the advantages incident to the situation in which they were placed ; and to what extent their issues were generally increased, has already been shown.

It will not be asserted, that any reasonable expectation could have been entertained of a voluntary return on the part of the state banks to a sound currency, unless the depreciation had become so great as to induce the community at large to reject their notes. Whether this arose from inability or unwillingness,

a remedy was equally necessary. Congress does not appear to have inquired whether they had the right to exercise any immediate control over the issues of those banks; and the question seems to have laid between the establishment of a national bank, and an attempt to force the state banks to pay in specie, by the refusal of their notes in payment of debts and duties due to the United States, so long as those notes were not on demand discharged in specie. It is clear that such an attempt must have failed altogether, during the year that followed the peace, and so long as the expenses of government greatly exceeded its receipts. The bank was chartered in April, 1816, and it must forever remain conjectural, whether, if that measure had not been adopted, and after the floating debt, and all the arrearages of the war had been paid or funded, and the receipts of the treasury had become greater than its disbursements, an attempt, on the part of the government, to collect the revenue, and to discharge the public expenses in specie, would have compelled the state banks to resume generally specie payments. It cannot, at all events, be doubted, that the result was quite uncertain, and that the attempt might have failed at the very outset, from the want of any other currency than bank notes. It is indeed quite probable, that, in that case, the impossibility to collect the revenue, might have induced government merely to substitute an issue of their own paper for that of the banks.

It will be found, by reference to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury of December 1815, that his recommendation to establish a National Bank was, in express terms, called "a proposition relating to the national circulating medium," and was exclusively founded on the necessity of restoring specie payments and the national currency. He states it as a fact incontestably proved, that the state banks could not at that time be successfully employed to furnish an uniform national currency. He mentions the failure of one attempt to associate them with that view; that another attempt, by their agency in circulating Treasury notes, to overcome the inequalities of the exchange, has only been partially successful; that a plan recently proposed, with the design to curtail the issues of bank notes, to fix the public confidence in the administration of the affairs of the banks, and to give to each bank a legitimate share in the circulation, is not likely to receive the general sanction of the banks; and that a recurrence to the national authority is indispensable for the restoration of a national currency. Such was the contemporaneous and deliberate opinion of the Officer of the Government, who had to struggle against the difficulties of a paper currency, not only depreciated, but varying in value from day to day and from place to place.

* It was not till after the organization of the Bank of the United States, in the latter part of January 1817, that delegates from the banks of New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Virginia, assembled in Philadelphia, for the purpose of agreeing to a general and simultaneous resumption of specie payments. A compact proposed by the Bank of the United States, acceded to by the state banks, and ratified by the Secretary of the Treasury, was the result of that convention. The state banks engaged to commence and continue specie payments, on various conditions, relative to the transfer and payment of the public balances on their books to the Bank of the United States, and to the sum which it engaged previously to discount for individuals, or under certain contingencies for the said banks, and also with the express stipulation, that the Bank of the United States, upon any emergency which might menace the credit of any of the said banks, would contribute its resources to any reasonable extent in support thereof, confiding in the justice and discretion of the banks respectively, to circumscribe their affairs within the just limits indicated by their respective capitals, as soon as the interest and convenience of the community would admit. To that compact, which was carried into complete effect, and to the importation of more than seven millions of dollars in specie from abroad by the Bank of the United States, the community is indebted for the universal restoration of specie payments, and for their having been sustained, during the period of great difficulty and of unexampled exportation of specie to China, which immediately ensued.

Among the difficulties which the bank had to encounter, must be reckoned the effort made to alleviate the distress which always attends the return from a depreciated, to a sound currency. The Western States having less capital, are, in the course of trade, generally indebted to the Atlantic seaports. Whether owing to larger purchases of public land than usual, to an excited spirit of enterprise, or to any other cause, it appears, that at that time, the amount of debts due by the West, either to the East or to Government, was unusually large. The several western offices of the Bank of the United States discounted largely, probably to too great an extent. The eastern creditors were generally paid, the western state banks relieved, and the debt transferred to the Bank. Thus we find that the issues of the Bank of Kentucky, which in 1816 exceeded one million nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were in 1819 reduced to six hundred and seventy thousand dollars. This could not be done, without large issues of branch notes, or of drafts on the Parent Bank,—

* The following details are borrowed from the pamphlet signed "Monitor," which is well known to have come from an authentic source.

and the northern offices which drained these of their capital.* Although great curtailments had taken place, near six millions and a half of dollars of the capital of the bank were, in the spring of the year 1819, distributed amongst the interior western offices, whilst the whole amount allotted to the offices north and east of Philadelphia, was less than one million. The proper equilibrium could not be reinstated without a revulsion and an uncommon pressure on the west, in order to lessen the amount of its debt. The creation, under such circumstances, of a great number of local banks in that quarter, could not but fail, and must have aggravated instead of relieving the evil. The unpopularity which attached to the Bank of the United States, when it found itself compelled to enforce the payment of such large debt, and the attempt to alleviate the distress by relief laws, which, though injudicious, ought not, in that state of things, to be too severely judged, are well known, and were the natural consequences of the course which was originally pursued.

The year 1819 having been one of great difficulty, we annex an estimate of the situation of the banks for the latter end of it. The Secretary of the Treasury gave a partial one, in his report on currency of the year 1820, to which we have made some additions and corrections from bank returns of a nearer date to the 1st of January 1820, than he had then obtained. The portion, on estimate, embraces almost the whole of the banks of Connecticut, New-Jersey, New-York, and Maryland, Mr. S. Girard's, about one-half of those of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama, and one-fourth of those of Kentucky. The returns of those of the other states are complete.

1st January 1820.	Capital.	Notes in circulation.	Deposits.	Specie.
All the ascertained state banks, (Pennsylvania excepted),	48,653,622	22,776,850	14,489,655	8,673,356
Banks of Pennsylvania, (4 banks excepted,) . . .	6,497,380	1,886,254	1,530,266	780,491
The 4 old Philadelphia banks,	6,384,400	1,395,766	2,766,768	1,222,804
209 ascertained state banks,	61,535,402	26,058,870	18,786,689	10,676,651
92 estimated state banks, -	36,732,361	13,500,000	11,500,000	5,500,000
301 banks,	98,267,763	39,558,870	30,286,689	16,176,651
United States Bank, -	35,000,000	4,221,770	4,705,511	3,147,977
Total,	133,267,763	43,780,640	34,992,200	19,324,628

It appears from that statement, that the amount of notes in circulation, was only one million less than immediately before the suspension of specie payments; whilst on the other hand, the amount of specie in the vaults of the banks was nearly two millions greater. But it has been seen, that, on the 1st of January

* Mr. Cheves's Exposition.

1816, the paper currency amounted to near sixty-seven millions. So great a reduction in the issues of the banks, could not have been effected without a corresponding diminution of their discounts. Debts contracted during the suspension of specie payments, and whilst the currency was depreciated, became payable at par. The distress, therefore, that took place at that time, may be clearly traced to the excessive number of state banks incorporated subsequently to the dissolution of the first Bank of the United States, and to their improvident issues. Those of the country banks of Pennsylvania alone, amounted, in November 1816, to \$4,756,460, and had been reduced in November 1819, to \$1,318,976. A committee of the Senate of that state, appointed in December 1819, to inquire into the extent and causes of the present general distress, ascribe it, as we do, to the improvident creation of so many banks, as will appear from the following extract from their report.—

“At the following session, the subject was renewed with increased ardour, and a bill authorizing the incorporation of forty-one banking institutions, with capitals amounting to upwards of seventeen millions of dollars, was passed by a large majority. This bill was also returned by the governor, with additional objections; but two-thirds of both houses (many members of which were pledged to their constituents to that effect) agreeing on its passage, it became a law on the 21st of March, 1814, and thus was inflicted upon the commonwealth an evil of a more disastrous nature than has ever been experienced by its citizens. Under this law, thirty-seven banks, four of which were established in Philadelphia, actually went into operation.”

The numerous failures which had preceded the year 1819, or have since taken place, have also been principally due to the same causes. We have an account of one hundred and thirty-five banks that failed between the 1st of January 1811, and the 1st of January 1830. The capital of one hundred and twenty-four of these amounted to 22,485,400 dollars, stated as having been paid in. The whole amount may be estimated at twenty-four millions and a half; and our list may not be complete. The capital of the state banks now existing amounts to one hundred and ten millions and a half. On a total capital of one hundred and thirty-five millions, the failures have amounted to twenty-four and a half, or to about two-elevenths of the whole. Of the actual loss incurred, we can give no account. There are instances in which the stockholders, by paying for their shares in their own notes, and afterwards redeeming their notes with the stock in their name, suffered no loss; and this fell exclusively on the holders of bank-notes and depositors. In many cases, where the whole stock has been lost, the holders of notes have nevertheless experienced a partial loss. In the most favourable cases, the stockholders lost a considerable portion of their stock; and all the debts will be ultimately paid. But even then there has been a heavy loss on the community; the notes having been generally sold by the holders at a depreciated rate, at the time

when the failure took place. We believe that the pecuniary loss sustained by the government, on the loans raised during the suspension, and from bank failures, exceeded four millions of dollars.

The active industry of the country has enabled it to recover from that depressed state; and we will now give a view of the situation of the state banks and of that of the United States, at the close of the year 1829. We have returns of two hundred and eighty-one state banks, which have a capital of 94,245,650 dollars. Of the forty-eight other banks we have only the capital, amounting to 16,188,711 dollars, and some incomplete returns; and of thirty banks of the state of New-York, of which we have complete returns, fourteen only are for the 1st of January 1830, the sixteen others being for the 1st of January 1828. This last circumstance makes the amount of specie appear probably one million of dollars less than it actually was at the end of the year 1829. The forty-eight banks, of the situation of which we have no return, are distributed as follows, viz.

In Connecticut,	- - - - -	3
New-York,	- - - - -	7
New-Jersey,	- - - - -	13
Pennsylvania,*	- - - - -	1
Maryland,	- - - - -	4
South Carolina,	- - - - -	4
Louisiana,	- - - - -	1

All those of the states of Ohio and Tennessee, and of the territories of Michigan and Florida, - - - - 15

Estimating these in the same manner as in the preceding statements, we have the following results:

I. For the states of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode-Island,

Capital,	- - - - -	\$30,792,602
Notes,	- - - - -	7,396,035
Deposits,	- - - - -	4,151,621
Specie,	- - - - -	2,202,939

For the states of Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey,

Capital,	- - - - -	\$26,585,539
Notes,	- - - - -	12,537,539
Deposits,	- - - - -	14,544,145
Specie,	- - - - -	2,741,746

For the states of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia,

Capital,	- - - - -	\$25,566,622
Notes,	- - - - -	11,274,086

* Mr. Girard's bank, the capital of which is rated at \$1,800,000, being the sum on which the stamp duty was formerly paid.

Deposits, - - - - -	\$10,850,739
Specie, - - - - -	4,170,592
<hr/>	
For the four Southern States,	
Capital, - - - - -	\$17,600,129
Notes, - - - - -	12,183,863
Deposits, - - - - -	6,952,194
Specie, - - - - -	3,046,141
<hr/>	
For the Western States,*	
Capital, - - - - -	\$9,889,469
Notes, - - - - -	5,144,310
Deposits, - - - - -	4,140,972
Specie, - - - - -	2,757,935
<hr/>	

II. Distinguishing the cities of Boston, Salem, New-York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New-Orleans, from the rest.

	Seven cities.	Remainder of the United States.
Capital, - - - - -	\$53,211,605	\$57,222,756
Notes, - - - - -	17,144,422	31,391,411
Deposits, - - - - -	23,137,129	17,502,542
Specie, - - - - -	7,258,025	7,661,328
<hr/>		<hr/>

III. Situation of the Bank of the United States, on the 1st of November, 1829.—

CR.	DR.
Funded debt, - - - - \$11,717,071	Capital, - - - - - \$34,996,270
Notes discount- ed, - - - - \$32,541,124	Notes in circulation, - - 15,844,984
Domestic bills, 7,476,321	Deposits, - - - - - 14,778,809
	Surplus fund, after de- ducting losses already chargeable to it, includ- ing that of Baltimore, 2,766,129
	<hr/>
40,017,445	
Foreign account, - - - 1,161,001	
Due from banks, 843,551	
Notes of ditto, 1,531,528	
2,375,079	
Specie, - - - - - 7,175,274	
Real estate, - - - - - 3,876,404	
Balance in transitu from bank and offices to each other, - - - - 2,063,918	
<hr/>	<hr/>
\$68,386,192	\$68,386,192

IV. The progressive improvement of the Bank of the United States, and the talent with which it has been administered, are exhibited in the following comparative view of the principal

* There are not now any state banks in operation in the states of Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri.

items of its situation, on the first days of November, 1819 and 1830.—

November 1.	1819.	1830.
Notes discounted on Bank Stock,	\$7,759,980	719,195
Notes discounted on personal security,	21,423,622	32,665,035
Domestic Bills, - - - - -	1,386,174	7,954,290
Deposits, - - - - -	4,705,512	12,650,752
Specie, - - - - -	3,147,977	11,436,175
Due to Baring, Brothers & Co. - -	2,333,937	
Due from ditto, - - - - -		2,778,653
Bank notes issued, - - - - -	4,221,770	18,004,680
deduct in transitu, - - - - -	411,659	2,823,135
In actual circulation, - - -	<u>\$3,810,111</u>	<u>15,181,545</u>

V. The following estimate gives the general result for the end of the year 1829.—

	Capital.	Notes.	Deposits.	Specie.
281 Banks ascertained, -	94,245,650	39,135,833	32,139,671	11,919,353
48 do. estimated, - -	16,188,711	9,400,000	8,500,000	3,000,000
329 * - - - - -	110,434,361	48,535,833	40,639,671	14,919,353
United States Bank, - -	35,000,000	15,844,984	14,778,809	7,175,274
	<u>145,434,361</u>	<u>64,380,817</u>	<u>55,418,480</u>	<u>22,094,627</u>

It will be perceived, by the last item of No. IV, that there is always a large amount of the notes of the Bank of the United States, issued and inserted in the usual returns, which are not in actual circulation. They consist of notes received in payment of duties, or otherwise, by other offices than those by which they had been issued, and transmitted back to them. The amount, at the end of 1829, was about two millions of dollars. On the other hand, the drafts from the bank on offices, and from those on the bank and on each other in actual circulation, should, as has been observed, be considered as making part of it. The total annual amount of those drafts is about twenty-four millions of dollars, and they are on an average paid within fifteen days after being issued. The amount always in circulation may, therefore, be estimated at one million, which, deducted from the last mentioned two millions of bank notes, *in transitu*, leaves a sum of less than fifteen millions for the actual circulation in notes of the bank. We may therefore estimate the total

* We have not included in this amount several banks lately chartered, but not in operation on the 1st of January, 1830.

amount of the paper currency of the United States, on the 1st of January, 1830, at about sixty-three millions five hundred thousand dollars.

All the banks receive notes issued by the other institutions, the returns of which, that have been obtained, being incomplete, have not been inserted in the preceding statements. From an examination of a number of these, in various sections of the country, and embracing banks with an aggregate capital of more than twenty millions of dollars, we think that the notes of that description make more than one-fifth of the total amount of their issues, in those situated north of the Potomac, and about one-eighth in the Southern States. The average of notes of state banks on hand, in the bank of the United States and its offices, amounted, during the year 1829, to about one million and a half. There is, therefore, always a sum of about nine or ten millions of dollars, or not less than one-seventh part of the whole amount issued, which is not in actual circulation. If the banks did not receive any notes but their own, it would seem that a nearly equal amount of these would be returned upon them, and that the real amount of the circulation should not be estimated at more than fifty-four or fifty-five millions of dollars. We have however adopted throughout the usual mode of computation.

If to the amount of notes we add the deposits, we will have a total of either one hundred and ten, or one hundred millions, according to each of those two modes of computing, for the circulation of all the banks. This is sustained by a sum of twenty-two millions in specie, which makes no part of the circulation. There are no means of ascertaining correctly the portion which consists of the precious metals. The silver coinage of England forms nearly one-seventh part of the whole circulation of that country. At that rate, that of the United States, allowing for the various considerations which may affect the question, cannot be estimated at more than ten millions. It is well known, that gold has been altogether excluded by the mint regulations.

• We have therefore the following results, according to the view of the subject which may be adopted.

Gross amount of notes issued,	- - - - -	\$63,500,000
Silver coins,	- - - - -	10,000,000
		<hr/>
Usual mode of computing,	1, - - - - -	73,500,000
And if deposits are included,	- - - - -	54,500,000
		<hr/>
	2, - - - - -	\$ 128,000,000
		<hr/>

But if the bank notes of other banks on hand	
are deducted, the notes in circulation will be,	\$ 54,000,000
Silver, - - - - -	10,000,000
	<hr/>
3, - - - - -	64,000,000
And if deposits are included, - - - - -	54,500,000
	<hr/>
4, - - - - -	\$ 118,500,000
	<hr/>

Although we have freely expressed our opinion, that, taking into consideration all the circumstances which belong to the subject, it might have been preferable in the United States to have had nothing but a metallic currency, we are quite aware that this is not at this time the question. We are only to inquire, whether any other or better security can be found, than that which is afforded by the Bank of the United States, against either the partial failures of banks, the want of an uniform currency, or a general suspension of specie payments. The great difficulty arises from the concurrent, and perhaps debateable jurisdiction of the general and state governments : and we are to examine, not only what are the provisions necessary to attain the object intended, but also by what authority the remedy must be administered.

The essential difference between banking and other commercial business, is, that merchants rely, for the fulfilment of their engagements, on their resources, and not on the forbearance of their creditors, whilst the banks always rely, not only on their resources, but also on the probability that their creditors will not require payment of their demands. We have already seen, that this probability is always increased or lessened, in proportion as the issues of the banks are moderate or excessive. One of the most efficient modes to reduce the amount of bank notes, as compared to the total amount of the currency of the country, consists in the increase of the metallic currency which circulates amongst the people, independent of that which is kept in reserve in the vaults of the banks. It is evident, that, inasmuch as only a certain amount of sound currency is wanted, and can be sustained, that part which consists of bank notes must be lessened, and thereby made safer, as the metallic portion is increased. Whenever also the specie of the banks is drained by any extraordinary demand whatever, delays, and often difficulties, may arise in the importation of a supply from abroad ; which is, however, the only resource, when the circulating metallic currency has nearly disappeared.

We have had an opportunity to witness in France the salutary effects of a currency consisting principally of the precious metals, not only in cases of great national difficulty, but also for

the specific purpose of reinstating a bank momentarily endangered by over issues of paper. But we prefer referring to the evidence of a very able and practical witness, who was also deeply interested in the issue, and we will extract this, from the work of another distinguished and practical writer.*

"Of the comparative facility with which the coffers of a bank which has suffered too great a reduction of its reserves by imprudent issues of paper may be replenished out of a circulation consisting in great proportion of coin, notwithstanding a coincident demand for large payments abroad, a strong instance is afforded in the case of the Bank of France, in 1817 and 1818. The circumstance is thus stated in Mr. Baring's evidence in March 1819. (Vide Report of Lords' Committee on the resumption of cash payments, p. 103.) Speaking of a drain which that bank had experienced, he says:—

"Their bullion was reduced, by imprudent issues, from one hundred and seventeen millions of francs, to thirty-four millions of francs, and has returned, by more prudent and cautious measures, to one hundred millions of francs, at which it stood ten days ago when I left Paris. This considerable change took place since the first week in November, when the amount of specie in that bank was at its lowest. It must, however, be always recollected, that this operation took place in a country, every part of the circulation of which is saturated with specie, and, therefore, no inference can be drawn in favour of the possibility of so rapid an operation in this country, where, owing to the absence of specie in circulation, the supply must entirely come from abroad; for in Paris, though some portions may have come from foreign countries, the great supply must undoubtedly have come through all the various small channels of circulation through that kingdom."

"Again, in the same evidence, p. 105:—

"Q. Has not France, after two years of great scarcity in corn, and two years of foreign contribution, been able to contribute a proportion of the precious metals to the wants of Russia and Austria?

"A. Undoubtedly, the precious metals have been supplied from France to Russia and Austria, and shipped, to a considerable amount, to America, notwithstanding the payments to foreign powers, and very large payments for imported corn, whilst, at the same time, wine having almost totally failed for several years past, they were deprived of the most essential article of their export."

"And, in reference to these payments, in the preceding answer, Mr. Baring states, that they 'produced no derangement whatever of the circulation of that country (France.)'

"It may not be unimportant further to remark, that the state of the currency in France, ever since the suppression of the assignats, appears to be decisive of the great advantages attending a metallic circulation, in times of political difficulty and danger. On no one great occasion did her efforts appear to be paralyzed, or even restricted, by any derangement of the currency; and in the two instances of her territory being occupied by an invading army, there does not appear to have been any material fluctuation in its value."

We perceive but two means of enlarging the circulating metallic currency, 1st, the suppression of small notes; 2d, the measures necessary to bring again gold into circulation.

The first measure is that, which, after long experience, a most deliberate investigation, and, notwithstanding a strenuous opposition by the parties interested, has been finally adopted and persevered in by the government of Great Britain. By the suppression of all notes of a denomination less than £ 5 sterling, in England, Wales, and Ireland, the amount of the circulating metallic currency has become equal to that of bank notes of every description. That metallic currency consists of eight millions sterling in silver, which is receivable only in payments not exceeding forty shillings, and in twenty-two millions sterling in gold. This measure has given a better security against fluctuations in the currency, and a renewal of a suspension of specie payments, than had been enjoyed during the thirty preceding years. In France, where the Bank of France is alone authorized to issue bank notes, and none of a denomination under five hundred francs, its circulation hardly ever reaches ten millions sterling, or about one-tenth part of the currency of the country. In the United States, all the banks issue notes of five dollars. The states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and perhaps some others, have forbidden the issue of notes of a lower denomination, to the great convenience of the community, and without experiencing any of the evils which had been predicted. We have seen, in Pennsylvania, the chasm occasioned by that suppression instantaneously filled by silver, without the least diminution in the amount of currency. We cannot but earnestly wish, that the other states may adopt a similar measure, and put an end to the circulation of the one, two, and three dollar notes, which is of no utility but to the banks. Those small notes are, as a currency, exclusively local, and a public nuisance: and, in case of the failure of any bank, the loss arising from them falls most heavily on the poorest class of the community. We have no other data to estimate the proportion they bear to the whole amount of notes, than the returns of the banks of Massachusetts and Maine, subsequent to January 1825; by which it appears, that, in those states, those small notes make one-fifth part of the whole paper currency. But we would wish to go further than this, and, in order to bring gold more generally into circulation, that all notes under the denomination of ten dollars might be suppressed. The five dollar notes of the Bank of the United States, constitute less than one-sixth part of its circulation, and amount in value to two-thirds of that of its ten dollar notes. From those data, taking into consideration the amount of currency of the states where the small notes do not circulate, and allowing that a portion of the five would be supplied by ten dollar notes, the reduction in the amount of the paper currency, arising from a suppression of the small notes, may be estimated at six or seven, and that produced by the suppression of the five

dollar notes at about eight millions. Both together would probably lessen the paper currency by one-fourth, and substitute silver and gold coins in lieu thereof.

We have already adverted to the erroneous value assigned to gold coins by the laws which regulate the Mint of the United States. The relative value of that metal to silver was, by the law of 1790, fixed at the rate of 15 to 1. In England it was at that time at the rate of about 15.2 to 1; and it had in France, after an investigation respecting the market price of both metals, been established at the rate of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, as early as the year 1785. From that to this time, gold coins have never been below par in that country, and have generally commanded a premium, varying from one-fifth to one per cent., but which, on an average, has been rather less than one-half per cent. This ratio in all those instances is that of gold to silver coins, but the difference is greater between gold and silver bullion. Whether the expense of coinage is defrayed gratuitously by government, or a seignorage is charged to individuals, coins not debased or deteriorated will almost always command a higher price than bullion containing the same quantity of pure metal, both on account of their greater utility, and on account of the cost of coinage. It is only when there is at the same time a redundancy of coin, a scarcity of bullion, and a great demand for plate or other manufactures, that, when the general coinage is sound, coins will be melted, and the price of bullion be equal to that of coins. Should, however, the coinage be deteriorated, new good coins will be melted as soon as they issue from the mint, and there is no remedy but a general recoinage at the public expense. According to the mint laws of England, an ounce of standard gold (containing, like ours, eleven-twelfths pure and one-twelfth alloy) is coined into £ 3 17s. 10½*d.* sterling; and, in the present sound state of its gold coinage, the average price of bullion of the same standard may be estimated as 77.7½. No solid reason can be assigned, why the actual cost of coinage should not be charged by government. In point of fact, the delay of two months, which elapse between the deposit of bullion in the Mint of the United States, and the delivery of the coins, is nearly equal to a charge of 1 per cent., does not assist in defraying the expenses of the mint, and has the disadvantage of being the same on both metals. When the annual silver coinage of our mint reaches three millions of dollars, the expense may be estimated at 1 per cent. The expense on the same value of gold, no silver being coined, would amount to about one-half per cent. The coinage of six millions, half in silver and half in gold, might be estimated at 1 per cent. on the first, and one-fifth per cent. on the gold. It is obvious, indeed, that it is more expensive to coin five silver pieces, worth one dollar each, than one gold piece worth five

dollars. A seignorage at that rate might be advantageously substituted to the present mode, and would only require a moderate constant appropriation, that might enable the mint to pay for the bullion at the time, or at least, within ten days of its delivery.

In France, the mint allows 3091 francs for each kilogramme of standard gold. This is coined into gold coins of the nominal value of 3,100 francs, being a deduction or seignorage of less than three-tenths per cent. The mint price of standard silver is 197 francs the kilogramme, which is coined into silver coins of the nominal value of 200 francs; the deduction or seignorage amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This is too great, and is, at least in part, the cause of the almost constant premium on gold coins. Whilst the relative value of gold to silver coins is fixed at the rate of $15\frac{1}{4}$ to 1; that of gold to silver bullion, is at the rate of 3.091 : 197, nearly equal to 15.69 : 1. This last ratio cannot essentially differ from the true average market relative price of the two metals, since the mint has been abundantly supplied with both for the last forty-five years.

But whether we estimate that relative value, by deducing it from the premium on the French gold coins, or by assuming that of gold to silver bullion as purchased by the French mint, or at the apparent market rate in England during the three or four last years, which would give respectively the ratios of about 15.6, 15.7, and 15.8 to 1; it is evident that our gold coins are underrated at least 4 per cent. The necessary consequence is the disappearance of gold coins, and their exportation to Europe, whenever the exchange will admit of it. According to that regulation, a ten dollar gold coin, or Eagle, contains 270 grains of standard gold, which, the 20 shillings sterling gold coin, or Sovereign, containing $123\frac{171}{33}$ grains of gold of the same standard, is equal to about 49.6 sterling; or, in other words, about \$4.56 in gold coin of the United States, contain a quantity of pure gold equal to that contained in a Sovereign. Allowing 1 per cent. for charges and transportation, our gold coins may commence to be exported to England as soon as the exchange rises to \$4.61 per pound sterling; which rate corresponds with nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. above the nominal, and 3 per cent. below the true par, calculating this at the ratio of near 15.6 to 1, or \$4.75 per pound sterling. We find by the tables of exchange annexed to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, that, with the exception of the year of the embargo, unless incidentally for a few days, the exchange on London, from 1795 to 1821, never rose to \$4.62 per pound sterling, or about 4 per cent. above the nominal par; or in other words, that during the whole of that period, the exchange was constantly favourable to the United States, having never been higher, with the exception aforesaid, than 2 per cent. below the true par.

This is the reason why our gold coins, though underrated, were not exported, till the year 1821 ; when the exchange rose from \$4.60 to \$4.98 per pound sterling ; and our gold coins began to be exported, a premium of one-half per cent. upon them being given, when the premium on the nominal par of exchange was 5 per cent., corresponding to an exchange of near \$4.67 per pound sterling. From that time to the end of the year 1829, the exchanges have, with few short exceptions, been unfavourable to the United States ; and the exportation has continued, not only during that period, but also during the last nine months, though the exchange has this year been but little if any above the true par. It is perfectly clear, that, whilst our gold coins are thus underrated, they will be exported, whenever the exchange rises above \$4.61 to \$4.64 per pound sterling ; and that, if rated according to the true or approximate relative value of gold to silver, they would not be exported to England till the exchange had risen to at least \$4.80 to \$4.83, or more than 1 per cent. above the true par.

If the intention is to exclude the gold coins altogether, it is quite unnecessary to coin gold. If it is intended that they should make part of the circulation, they must be rated at or near their true relative value. Unless this is done, the circulating metallic never can be sufficiently enlarged to ensure to the country a sound currency. The question, whether the two metals should circulate simultaneously, has never been made a matter of doubt when there has been no paper currency. Both are then indispensable, gold for large payments and principally for remittances and travellers, and silver for small daily payments. The Secretary of the Treasury correctly states, that, "if there were no paper medium like that of the Bank of the United States, circulating freely in all parts of the Union, and every where convertible into the standard, at a very moderate discount, gold coins would be almost indispensable. Without them, every traveller, even from state to state, and often from one county to another, must encumber himself with silver, or be exposed to vexatious embarrassments and impositions." A country which wishes to make gold the only standard of value, is still compelled to admit a silver coinage for small payments. Where silver is the standard, gold would still be found necessary unless supplied by paper. It is true, that so long as five dollar notes exchangeable every where for specie do circulate, gold, though rated at its value, will be less in demand, and that many persons will prefer the notes. But even in that case, both may at least be permitted to circulate concurrently, leaving to every individual the option of either. At all events, if thus rated, they would assist in filling the vaults of the banks, and thereby throw a larger quantity of silver in circulation.

It has been objected to the simultaneous circulation of the two

metals, that the fluctuation in their relative price, increases the uncertainty of the standard. This is true, but not to the extent which a first view of the subject may suggest, and, even to that extent, producing so small an effect that it may be altogether neglected.

There are four contingencies which may cause a fluctuation in the relative price of gold and silver, as *either* may *either* rise or fall, as compared to the value of all other commodities. Supposing a country where silver is made the only legal tender, it is clear that in two of those contingencies, namely, if the price of gold should rise, or if that of silver should fall, every payment would have still been made in silver, if both metals had been a legal tender, and the option given to the debtors to pay with either. As the probability of those several contingencies is perfectly equal, it follows that, in one-half of the fluctuations which may take place in the relative price of the two metals, it is perfectly immaterial, whether one or both are made a legal tender. With respect to the two other contingencies; if the price of silver should rise, that of gold remaining the same as compared to all other commodities, the debtors in the country where both metals were a legal tender, would pay in gold, and therefore in perfect conformity with the original contract; whilst, in the country where silver alone was a legal tender, they would be obliged to pay in that metal, that is to say, to pay a greater value than according to the original; and, on the other hand, if the price of gold should fall, that of silver, as compared to all other commodities, remaining the same, the debtors would, in the country which admitted only silver as a legal tender, be obliged to pay in that metal in conformity with the contract; whilst in the country where both metals were a legal tender, the debtors would pay in gold, that is to say, a sum less than according to the contract. Whatever may be the amount of fluctuation, the stability of the standard of value is not, by adopting only one metal as such, improved to a greater extent than has now been stated. But the fact is, that the fluctuations in the relative price of gold and silver coins are so small in a country where the mint is open to all individuals, and under proper regulations, that, when compared with the variations to which coins issuing from the same mint are liable, they may be altogether disregarded.

It has been somewhat erroneously supposed, that governments might alter by their own regulations the actual relative value of the two precious metals. This might be done to a considerable extent, if these had no intrinsic value; that is to say, if they could be obtained without capital or labour, or if, whatever the cost of production might be, they were of no utility whatever except for currency. In the first case, governments might attach any

value they pleased to either metal in the same manner as is now done with paper money. In the latter case, there being no other demand except that of governments, the price of either metal might be reduced so low, as to compel an abandonment of all the poorer, but not lower than the cost of production at the most fertile mines. But the intrinsic value of the precious metals, combined with the general demand for them, determines their market price. Governments are among the principal, but not the only consumers. If the demand for either gold or silver for the purpose of currency was to cease altogether, it would have an effect on the market price of the metal excluded: but a government, which uses both as currency, cannot affect their permanent relative value. It may, however, to a certain extent, prevent great fluctuations, by coining at all times for all individuals who may bring in bullion, allowing always the same regular price, and paying for it without delay, and without any other charge than the actual cost of coining.

It has already been stated, that the relative mint price of gold and silver bullion in France (about 15.7:1) is very near the average market price of those two metals. And by giving always the same regular price for each, government has, to a certain degree, prevented any great fall in the price of either. It is only during short and extraordinary periods, that the fluctuations have been so great, as that the gold coins did, either fall to the par of silver coins, or rise to a premium of one per cent. During by far the greater part of the period of forty-five years, which has elapsed since that regulation took place, this premium has fluctuated from one-fifth to one-half per cent. so that the variations in the relative value of the two metals have, with the few exceptions above mentioned, been less than one-third per cent. And even these would have been less, had not, as has already been stated, the silver coins been overrated by charging about one-half per cent. too much on their coinage.

It is believed that there is no mint which issues more faithful and perfect coins than that of the United States. The extreme variation from standard fineness, as determined by the annual assay, does not exceed one-fifth per cent. on the silver coins: on the gold coins it is too small to be appreciated. On a large sum as delivered from the mint, the weight, if not precisely accurate, would almost uniformly be found to fail in excess. But trivial deviations in weight on single pieces are unavoidable: they rarely exceed one-third per cent. on the heaviest silver, and are less than one-sixth per cent. on the gold coins. If, to those unavoidable deviations, be added the loss which coins experience by friction, it will be found that they exceed in value the fluctuations in the relative market price of the gold and silver coins issued under proper mint regulations, and therefore that these

are a quantity which may be neglected, and which, in fact, is never taken into consideration at the time of making the contract.

The importance of preserving a permanent standard of value is the leading principle, which we have tried to enforce in this paper; and it is for that express purpose that we consider an alteration in the mint regulations, which alone can bring gold into circulation, as absolutely necessary. The rate heretofore adopted had its origin in a mistake, and was not at all intended for the purpose of excluding gold. It did not produce that effect for thirty years, on account of the favourable rate of exchanges. To persist in it, now that experience has shown the evils it produces, and amongst others the undeniable exportation of gold, and of gold coins, at a time when the exchanges may be three per cent. under the true par, instead of being adherence to the original plan, is an obvious deviation from its avowed object. We are sacrificing reality to a pure shadow, when for the sake of an abstraction, and in order to avoid a contingent and doubtful fluctuation of one-half per cent. in the standard of value, we promote, by the total exclusion of gold from circulation, that increase of the paper currency, which alone can materially endanger that standard.

But even this objection may be removed by raising the mint price of gold only to that rate, which will render it almost impossible that its legal value should ever be higher than its market price. We should, therefore, suggest the adoption, in the relative legal value of the gold and silver coins, of a ratio not much above that of 15.6:1, rather than one nearer to the average relative value of the two metals. As the exchange must rise more than one per cent. above the true par derived from the legal relative value which may be adopted, before American gold coins can be exported, this would not take place to England, until the exchange had risen to at least \$4 81 per pound sterling. On the other hand, that ratio being lower than that of the relative value of gold and silver bullion either in England or in France, there would be no danger of the price of the gold falling below that of the silver coins. On the contrary, it is extremely probable, that the gold coins would generally, as in France, command a small premium, and be used with great convenience as subsidiary to silver, which would remain as heretofore our standard of value. Either of the ratios of 2700:173 (equal to about 15.6069:1), and of 125:8 (equal to 15.625:1) would answer that purpose. According to the first, the weight of the eagle would be in standard gold, 259.5; and according to the second 259.2 grains. The last ratio is the most simple, and is capable of a *definite* expression in decimals. The only advantage of the first, the expression of which, though less simple, is however per-

fectly definite, consists in making the corresponding value of the pound sterling almost equal to \$4 75, (nearly 4.7505,) which would afford much convenience in the calculations of duties and exchange. The corresponding value of the pound sterling, according to the second ratio, would be near \$4 75.6. We think, that at all events, the ratio should not exceed that of 675:43, (nearly equal to 15.7:1,) which would give two hundred and fifty-eight grains for the weight of the eagle in standard gold, and about \$4 77.8 for the corresponding value of the pound sterling. We will add another consideration in favour of the proposed reform of our gold coins.

It seems to be well ascertained that the United States contain one of the most extensive deposits of gold that have ever yet been discovered. It extends from the central parts of Virginia, in a south-west direction, to the state of Alabama. It is said to have yielded the value of near half a million of dollars this year, and it is not improbable that it will ere long afford an annual produce of several millions. It appears but just to afford, to those employed in collecting that natural product, a certain and the highest home market of which it is susceptible. This cannot be the case, so long as gold is only a merchandise for exportation, and will be effected by making it a current coin, and reducing the charge of coinage in the manner which has been before suggested. In every point of view, we consider this last measure, that of enabling the mint to pay immediately for the bullion, and of substituting, to the delay of two months, a small duty on the coinage not higher than its cost, as of no inconsiderable importance.

Great Britain, in adopting gold as the sole standard of value, has found it, however, absolutely necessary to admit silver coins for payments not exceeding forty shillings. This limitation would, it seems, have been sufficient for the object intended. But, whether in order to prevent the exportation, or only the better to assert the adherence to an abstract principle, the new silver coinage has been overrated about nine per cent. by coining the troy pound weight of standard silver into sixty-six instead of sixty-two shillings. This debased coin is attended with the same inconvenience as a paper currency issued by government. There is, on account of the profit, a temptation to issue too much; and no sure means can be found of ascertaining the amount wanted for effecting the payments to which that portion of the currency is applicable. It is worthy of remark, that England, from a scrupulous adherence to a single standard, should have actually established two distinct standards of value, one for wholesale and the other for retail transactions. It is obvious, that since a debased coin can be neither profitably exported nor applied to other purposes, any considerable excess, beyond what is actually

wanted for effecting small payments, must cause a depreciation. Should government be ever so moderate in its issues, the facility with which that coin may be, not counterfeited, but illegally imitated and put into circulation, must ultimately defeat the object intended. In the mean while, should the excess be such, that the retailers of every description, who are obliged to take in payment silver inapplicable to wholesale purchases, could not dispose of the surplus, they must, to indemnify themselves, add something to their prices. We believe this to be already the fact, and that this, like every other depreciated currency, operates as a tax, which affects principally all those who are compelled to purchase every thing by retail.

These two measures, suggested for the purpose of enlarging the circulating metallic currency, recommend themselves by their simplicity, and are founded on the beneficial experience of almost every other country. In Europe, England alone has resorted to a single standard, and that nominally, since her silver circulation amounts to eight millions sterling, or to more than one-third of her gold, and almost to one-third of her paper currency. We believe that small notes, or tokens, circulate no longer any where but in Russia, Sweden, and Scotland. The situation of two of those countries is in nowise parallel to that of the United States. Twenty shilling notes continue to circulate in Scotland; and the banking system of that country offers an anomaly which has not been satisfactorily explained. The numerous failures of country banks in England have been sometimes ascribed to their not being incorporated companies; which is disproved by the solidity of the numerous Scotch banks of the same description, and by the repeated failures of our own chartered banks; and sometimes to their not being permitted by law to consist of a sufficient number of partners. But of the twenty-nine banks of Scotland which are not chartered, seventeen are voluntary associations, consisting of from three to nineteen partners, the credit of which is as good as that of the other twelve unincorporated, and of the three chartered banks of that country. We believe, that independent of the peculiarities which distinguish the Scotch banking system, its superior stability must be principally ascribed to the persevering but cautious enterprise, to the great frugality, and generally to the habits of that nation.

It is difficult to devise the more direct means by which the over-issues of banks may be checked. Several of the states have as yet taken no measures to that effect. Many appear to have tried to apply rather penal than preventive remedies. The laws by which it has been attempted to limit either the loans or the issues made by the banks, have generally been intended to prevent what never can take place. Amongst more than three hundred

banks, either now existing or which have failed, and of which we have returns, we have not found a single one, the loans of which amounted, so long as specie payments were in force, to three times, or the issues to twice the amount of their capital. It is clear, that provisions applicable to such improbable contingencies are purely nominal. The statements we have given show that the average amount of notes issued by the state banks does not, taken together, exceed forty-four per cent., nor the aggregate amount of their notes and deposits, eighty-one per cent. of their capital. The loans made by those banks, of which we have returns in that respect, amount to 87,788,574, and their aggregate capital to 124,965,882 dollars. Those facts afford sufficient data to form an opinion of the necessary provisions in that respect. The restrictions can only be made in reference to the capital actually paid in, and to apply to the amount of loans and issues, which, with the exception of deposits, are the only items that can be always limited by the banks. And the deposits, independent of being voluntary, could not without much inconvenience, both to the banks and their customers, be restricted to a fixed amount. We think that no bank should be permitted to extend its loans, including stocks of every description, and every species of debt in whatever manner secured, beyond twice the amount of its capital. We find provision to that effect in the laws of Massachusetts and Louisiana. That proportion is forty per cent. greater than that of the banks above mentioned, and greater, as we think, than is consistent with the safety of almost any bank. The aggregate of the loans made and of the stocks owned by the former Bank of the United States, never amounted to seventy per cent., nor that of the existing bank to fifty per cent. beyond the amount of their respective capitals. This restriction alone necessarily checks the aggregate amount of the issues and deposits of a bank; which, in that case, never can together exceed the amount of its capital, beyond the specie in its vaults, and the nominal value of its real estate. But we believe that a positive restriction on the issue of notes, so that they never should exceed two-thirds of the capital, would be highly beneficial. The only objection is, with respect to country banks, which have not the same proportionate amount of deposits as the city banks, and may on that account claim a greater latitude with respect to notes. But it will be perceived by the following statement, which includes thirty banks of the state of New-York that have more than three-fourths of the whole banking capital of the state, and all the chartered banks of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, that, taking into consideration both notes and deposits, the proportion of these to the capital is far greater in the country than in the city banks. The relative proportions are, in New-York and in Pennsylvania as seven to four, and in Massa-

chusetts as three to two. A reduction in the amount of notes to two-thirds of that of the capital would not affect this state, and would still leave the proportion of notes and deposits to capital of country, much greater, in Pennsylvania and New-York, than that of city banks.

Massachusetts,

	City.	Country.
Specie, - - -	\$ 747,684	\$ 239,526
Capital, - - -	13,450,000	5,702,400
Notes, - - -	2,357,678	2,160,000
Deposits, - - -	2,202,092	658,190
Circulation, - -	4,559,770	2,818,190

Pennsylvania,

Specie, - - -	\$1,639,134	\$ 775,537
Capital, - - -	9,903,930	3,506,403
Notes, - - -	3,648,719	3,659,650
Deposits, - - -	5,046,183	1,795,266
Circulation, - -	8,694,902	5,454,916

New-York,

Specie, - - -	\$ 1,169,581	\$ 390,710
Capital, - - -	10,711,200	4,926,153
Notes, - - -	3,394,257	4,567,023
Deposits, - - -	6,662,174	3,692,326
Circulation, - -	10,056,431	8,259,349

We do not wish, at the same time, to be understood as objecting generally to the extension of the banking system to the country, but only to the indiscriminate establishment of banks, without regard to the actual wants and means of the districts which may apply for that purpose. There is a general spirit of enterprise in the United States, to which they are greatly indebted for their rapid growth; and it is difficult to ascertain in all cases, to what extent it should be encouraged, and when it ought to be checked. The remarks apply particularly to the newly settled parts of the country, which present a state of things, different from that found in any other part of the civilized world, and to which, therefore, even the most generally admitted principles of political economy will not always apply.

Amongst the first emigrants, there are but few possessed of much capital; and these, generally employing it in the purchase

of land, are soon left without any active resources. The great mass bring nothing with them, but their industry, and a small stock of cattle and horses. A considerable portion of the annual labour is employed in clearing, enclosing, and preparing the land for cultivation. Those difficulties, and all the privations incident to their new situation, are encountered with unparalleled spirit and perseverance. Within a very short time, our numerous new settlements, which in a few years have extended from the Mohawk to the great western lakes, and from the Alleghany to the Mississippi and beyond it, afford the spectacle of a large population, with the knowledge, the intelligence and the habits which belong to civilized life, amply supplied with the means of subsistence, but without any other active capital, but agricultural products, for which, in many instances, they have no market. It is in this last respect, that their situation essentially differs from that of any other country as far advanced in civilization. We might even add, that there is, in several ancient settlements of the United States, a less amount of active capital, than in the interior parts of many European countries. The national industry, out of the seaports, has, at least till very lately, been exclusively applied to agriculture; and circulating capital will rarely be created, out of commercial cities, without the assistance of manufactures.

With the greatest abundance of provisions, it is impossible for a new country to purchase what it does not produce, unless it has a market for its own products. Specie is a foreign product, and, though one of the most necessary, is not yet always that which is most imperatively required. We may aver from our own knowledge, that the western counties of Pennsylvania had not, during more than twenty years after their first settlement, the specie necessary for their own internal trade and usual transactions. The want of communications, and the great bulk of their usual products, reduced their exports to a most inconsiderable amount. The two indispensable articles of iron and salt, and a few others almost equally necessary, consumed all their resources. The principle, almost universally true, that each country will be naturally supplied with the precious metals according to its wants, did not apply to their situation. Household manufactures supplied the inhabitants with their ordinary clothing, and the internal trade and exchanges were almost exclusively carried on by barter. This effectually checked any advance even in the most necessary manufactures. Every species of business required the utmost caution, as any failure in the performance of engagements in the way of barter, became, under the general law of the land, an obligation to pay money, and might involve the party in complete ruin. Under those circumstances, even a paper currency, kept within proper bounds, might have proved useful.

We know the great difficulties which were encountered by those who first attempted to establish the most necessary manufactures, and that they would have been essentially relieved, and some of them saved from ruin, by moderate bank loans. Yet there were instances where those difficulties were overcome, and the most successful manufactures of iron and glass were established and prospered prior to the establishment of any bank; but the general progress of the country was extremely slow, and might have been hastened by such institutions soberly administered.

Some of the first settlements in other parts of the country, were, for a length of time, in a similar situation. The progress of others, under more favourable circumstances, has been much more rapid. The western parts of the state of New-York have always enjoyed a nearer and more accessible market. The acquisition of Louisiana, the invention of steam-boats, and the improved communications by land and water, have entirely changed the state of things west of the Alleghany mountains. Still, and notwithstanding the unparalleled increase of population, and the rapid progress in every respect of the new states or settlements, their wealth does not, in any degree, correspond, either with that population, or with their advances in agriculture. All new colonies, either from Europe to America, or from the ancient settlements to the more interior part of America, have, under different modifications, been ever placed in a similar situation. To this must be ascribed the issues of paper money by the several states, whilst under the colonial government. This currency, in many instances useful, was, as usual, often carried to excess, and depreciated accordingly. The same causes continue to produce similar effects. The eagerness for country banks is natural, but often mistakes its object. They may be safely established in flourishing towns or villages, either commercial or manufacturing, provided their issues are restrained within proper bounds. It is to the abuse, and not to the use, that we object. The profits of agriculture are so moderate, at least in the middle states, and the returns so slow, that even loans on mortgages are rarely useful. But when made by banks, on notes at sixty days, without any other substantial security than real estate, they never can be relied on as an immediate resource, and, when payment is urged, they almost always prove ruinous to the borrowers, and are often attended with heavy losses to the banks. The example of Pennsylvania has clearly shown, that the calamities inflicted by the failures of country banks, established in unfit places, or for want of experience, improperly administered, have been still more fatal to the inhabitants of the districts in which they were situated, than to the state at large. It is well known that the same observation applies, with equal, if not greater force, to other states than Pennsylvania.

The revised statutes of the state of New-York, besides several salutary provisions for the bona fide payment of the stock subscribed, to prevent any dividend greater than the actual profits, and generally for the prevention of frauds, contain one of primary importance, adopted also in Maryland and some other states, by which the charter is forfeited, whenever the bank refuses or declines to pay on demand its notes or deposits in specie. But the restriction on loans and discounts, which limits their amount to three times that of the capital, is purely nominal; and the responsibility imposed on stockholders, though already adopted in some other states, has been considered as objectionable. As a substitute, and with a laudable intent to protect the community against partial failures, a "safety fund" has since been established by law, consisting of a tax of one half per cent. on the capital of every bank, and which is applicable to the payment of the notes of any that may fail. This must have a tendency to encourage excessive issues of paper, which could not be sustained if resting only on the credit of the bank by which they are made. But, unacquainted as we are with the reasons alleged in favour of that measure, it appears to us unjust; 1st, by making institutions properly managed, responsible for the conduct of others at a great distance, and over which they have no control; 2d, because, on account of the disproportion between the aggregate of the circulation and deposits of the city and country banks respectively, the first are made to pay, in the safety fund, about twice as much in proportion as the country banks. This will appear evident by referring to the last statement, and does not accord with the principles of a government founded on the equal rights of all.

The most efficient security afforded by the state laws against improvident issues of notes, is to be found in that of Massachusetts, by which banks are obliged to pay interest at the rate of 24 per cent. a year, on all notes or deposits which they may neglect or refuse to pay in specie on demand. A similar provision, but at the rate of 12 per cent., has been enacted by the state of Louisiana, and is also inserted in the charter of the Bank of the United States. Another great guarantee against improper management, is the obligation to make and publish annual statements of the situation of the banks. The mystery with which it was formerly thought necessary to conceal the operations of those institutions, has been one of the most prolific causes of erroneous opinions on that subject, and of mismanagement on their part. It is highly desirable that this measure should be adopted in the states where those returns are not yet made obligatory. The annual statements of the Bank of the United States, and of the banks of all the New-England states, of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Georgia, and others, to Congress,

and to the states respectively, have in no instance injured any institution that was properly administered. Publicity is, in most cases, one of the best checks which can be devised : it inspires confidence, and strengthens credit ; whilst concealment begets distrust, and often engenders unjust suspicions.

There is still another measure, better calculated perhaps than any other, to give complete security against the danger of insolvency. It has been already observed, that the original capital of the Bank of England, amounting to more than fourteen millions sterling, has been loaned to government, and, remaining in its hands, affords the best security to the holders of notes and to depositors. The propriety of extending a similar provision to country banks has been strongly urged in England ; and the same measure, with respect to our banks, generally, has also been suggested. It is quite practicable, and seems unobjectionable in a country possessed of so large a capital as England, and in which the large amount of public debt would enable the banks to comply with the condition without any difficulty. But this might not be practicable here, where the banking capital is so much larger than the amount of all other public stocks, and we apprehend that mortgages on real estate must, if such provision becomes general, be resorted to for want of such stocks. We must also refer to our former observations respecting the nature of our banking capital. Should this be permanently vested in mortgages or stocks, the accommodations which the banks afford to individuals might be too much curtailed. If these objections can be removed, the plan proposed would give to the banking system of the United States a solidity, and inspire a confidence, which it cannot otherwise possess.

The constitutional powers of Congress on the subject, are the next and principal object of inquiry.

We have already adverted to the provisions of the Constitution, which declare, that no state shall either coin money, emit bills of credit, make any thing but gold and silver coins a tender in payment of debts, or pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts, and which vest in Congress the exclusive power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin. It was obviously the object of the Constitution to consolidate the United States into one nation, so far as regarded all their relations with foreign countries, and that the internal powers of the general government should be applied only to objects necessary for that purpose, or to those few which were deemed essential to the prosperity of the country, and to the general convenience of the people of the several states. Amongst the objects thus selected, were the power to regulate commerce among the several states, and the control over the monetary system of the country.

This last mentioned power is, and has ever been one of primary importance. It is for want of such general power, that Germany has always been inundated with coins often debased, and varying from state to state in standard and denomination: the same defect was found in the former United Provinces of the Netherlands: and the banks of deposit of Hamburg and Amsterdam, were originally established for the purpose of correcting that evil. Even under the articles of confederation, Congress had already the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coins struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states. It was on a most deliberate view of the subject, that the same powers were confirmed and enlarged by the Constitution, and the individual states excluded from any participation, which might interfere with the controlling power of the general government. With the exception of those which are connected with the foreign relations of the United States, either in war or in peace, there are no powers more expressly and exclusively vested in Congress, of a less disputable nature, or of greater general utility, than those on the subject of currency. Arbitrary governments have, at various times, in order to defraud their creditors, debased the coin, whilst they preserved its denomination, and thus subverted the standard of value by which the payment of public and private debts, and the performance of contracts, ought to have been regulated. This flagrant mode of violating public faith has been long proscribed by public opinion. Governments have, in modern times, substituted for the same purpose issues of paper money, gradually increasing in amount, and decreasing in value. It was to guard against those evils, that the provisions in the Constitution on that subject were intended: and it is the duty, not less than the right, of the United States, to carry them into effect.

The first paragraph of the eighth section of the first article, provides that Congress shall have power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States."

It has sometimes been vaguely asserted, though, as we believe, never seriously contended, that the words "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," were intended, and might be construed, as a distinct and specific power given to Congress, or, in other words, that that body was thereby invested with a sweeping power, to embrace within its jurisdiction any object whatever, which it might deem conducive to the general welfare of the United States. This doctrine is obviously untenable, subversive of every barrier in the Constitution which guards the rights of the states or of the people, expressly con-

tradicted by the tenth amendment, which provides, that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people; and tantamount to an assertion, that there is no Constitution, and that Congress is omnipotent. Mr. Jefferson stigmatizes this construction as "a grammatical quibble, which has countenanced the general government in a claim of universal power. For, (he adds,) in the phrase, to lay taxes, *to pay the debts and provide for the general welfare*, it is a mere question of syntax, whether the two last infinitives are governed by the first, or are distinct and co-ordinate powers; a question unequivocally decided by the exact definition of powers, immediately following."

The words "to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States," are as obligatory as any other part of the Constitution; they cannot be expunged, and must be so construed as to be effective. Mr. Jefferson did not deny this, which is indeed undeniable; and he only contended, that the words did not convey a distinct power, but were governed by the preceding infinitive; that is to say, that this clause in the Constitution, instead of giving to Congress the three distinct powers, 1st, to lay taxes, &c., 2dly to pay the debts, 3dly to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States, gave only that "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, *in order* to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." He states the question as one of syntax, susceptible of only two constructions; one which would give, as a distinct, a sweeping power inconsistent with the spirit and other express provisions of the Constitution, and which he accordingly rejects; the other, which he adopts, and which admits, but confines the application of the words "to provide for the general welfare," to the only power given by that clause, viz. that of laying taxes, duties, &c.

This appears to have been the construction universally given to that clause of the Constitution, by its framers and cotemporary expounders. Mr. Hamilton, though widely differing in another respect from Mr. Jefferson in his construction of this clause, agrees with him in limiting the application of the words "to provide for the general welfare," to the express power given by the first sentence of the clause. In his report on manufactures, he contends for the power of Congress to allow bounties for their encouragement, and, after having stated the three qualifications of the power to lay taxes, viz., 1st, that duties, imposts, and excises, should be uniform throughout the United States; 2nd, that no direct tax should be laid unless in proportion to the census; 3d, that no duty should be laid on exports; he argues on the constitutional question in the following words.—

"These three qualifications excepted, the power to raise money is plenary and indefinite; and the objects to which it may be appropriated, are no less comprehensive than the payment of the public debts and the providing for the common defence and general welfare. The terms 'general welfare,' were doubtless intended to signify more than was expressed or imported in those which preceded; otherwise numerous exigencies, incident to the affairs of a nation, would have been left without a provision. The phrase is as comprehensive as any that could have been used; because it was not fit that the constitutional authority of the Union to appropriate its revenues, should have been restricted within narrower limits than the 'general welfare;' and because this necessarily embraces a vast variety of particulars, which are susceptible neither of specification nor of definition."

"It is therefore of necessity left to the discretion of the national legislature, to pronounce upon the objects which concern the general welfare, and for which, under that description, an appropriation of money is requisite and proper. And there seems to be no room for a doubt, that whatever concerns the general interests of learning, of agriculture, of manufactures, and of commerce, are within the sphere of the national councils, as far as regards an application of money."

"The only qualification of the generality of the phrase in question, which seems to be admissible, is this; that the object to which an appropriation of money is to be made, be general and not local; its operation extending, in fact, or by possibility, throughout the Union, and not being confined to a particular spot."

"No objection ought to arise to this construction, from the supposition that it would imply a power to do whatever else should appear to Congress conducive to the general welfare. A power to appropriate money with this latitude, which is granted too, in express terms, would not carry a power to any other thing not authorized in the Constitution, either expressly or by fair implication."

Mr. Hamilton insisted that the power to *lay and collect* taxes and duties, implied that of *appropriating* the money thus raised, to any object which Congress might deem conducive to "the general welfare." But he confines throughout the application of those words to the power given, as he understood it, by the first sentence of the clause. Mr. Jefferson, who agreed with him in that respect, denied altogether that the power to lay taxes implied that of applying the money thus raised to objects conducive to the general welfare. It cannot be objected to this construction, which is the most literal, that the words "for the general welfare" are thereby rendered of no effect. For there are several cases, in which the laying a tax or duty does alone effect the object in view, without the aid of an appropriation or of any other distinct act of the legislature. On that point, however, and on that alone, they differed. But it is foreign to the object now under consideration, and we do not mean to discuss it. All that is necessary for us is, that, as admitted by both, the power to *lay duties and taxes*, is vested in Congress, and may be exercised, to provide (or, in order to provide) for the general welfare of the United States, without any other limitation than the three qualifications specified by the Constitution and above stated.

It has indeed been lately contended by some distinguished citizens, that the words "general welfare," referred only to the powers expressly vested in Congress by the Constitution: or, in

other words, that the power to lay duties and taxes could not be exercised but for the purpose of carrying into effect some of those specific powers. It seems to us, that this, if intended, would have been distinctly expressed, instead of using the words "general welfare." And although it is undeniable, that a constructive power can not be legitimately claimed, unless necessary and proper for carrying into execution, or fairly implied in, a power expressly delegated; we do not perceive why it should be necessary, in order to justify the exercise of a power expressly given, that it should be exercised in reference to another similar power. But we do not mean to discuss this question, which is also foreign to our object. Allowing, for the sake of argument, the validity of the objection, it does not apply to cases where the object, in reference to which the duty or tax is laid, is clearly embraced within the powers of the general government.

Congress has the power to lay stamp duties on notes, on bank notes, and on any description of bank notes. That power has already been exercised; and the duties may be laid to such an amount, and in such a manner, as may be necessary to effect the object intended. This object is not merely to provide generally for the general welfare, but to carry into effect, in conformity with the last paragraph of the eighth section of the first article, those several and express provisions of the Constitution, which vest in Congress exclusively the control over the monetary system of the United States, and more particularly those which imply the necessity of a uniform currency. The exercise of the power for that object is free of any constitutional objection, provided the duties thus laid shall be uniform, and applied to the Bank of the United States as well as to the state banks. The act of laying and collecting the duties, which is expressly granted, is alone sufficient to effect the object. As no appropriation of money is wanted for that purpose, the exercise of power which is required, is purely that of laying duties; and it is not liable to the objection, that to assert that the authority to lay taxes implies that of appropriating the proceeds, is a forced construction. It is equally free of any objection derived from any presumed meaning of the words "general welfare," since the power to lay duties will, in this instance, be exercised, in order to carry into effect several express provisions of the Constitution, having the same object in view. Congress may, if it deems it proper, lay a stamp duty, on small notes, which will put an end to their circulation. It may lay such a duty on all bank notes, as would convert all the banks into banks of discount and deposit only, annihilate the paper currency, and render a Bank of the United States unnecessary in reference to that object. But if this last measure should be deemed pernicious, or prove impracticable,

Congress must resort to other and milder means of regulating the currency of the country. The Bank of the United States, as has already been shown, was established for that express purpose.

An act incorporating a bank, is not an act either to raise or appropriate money. The power to establish the bank cannot, in any way, be founded on that clause of the Constitution which has reference to the general welfare of the United States. It is sanctioned exclusively by that clause which gives to Congress power to make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution any of the powers vested in the government of the United States. And the first object of inquiry is the meaning of the words "necessary and proper" in that clause.

We are aware, that it has at times been suggested that the word "necessary," in its strict sense, means "that without which the specific power cannot be carried into effect," and ought to be so construed. If appeal be made to verbal criticism, it may be answered, that if such was the meaning of the word "necessary," in that sentence, the word "proper" would not have been added; since that which is necessary in that strict sense is of necessity proper. This last expression must, therefore, be taken in connexion with the first; and since it was contemplated, that what was called necessary might be proper or improper, the words "laws necessary and proper" do not appear to have been intended in that most limited sense, which implies absolute impossibility of effecting the object without the law, but to mean such laws as are fairly intended, and highly useful and important for that purpose. We believe this to be the fair, and to have been the uniform construction of the Constitution, and that indeed without which it could not have been carried into effect. In order to prove that this has ever been deemed the natural and clear construction, we will not resort to the establishment of lighthouses, or to other numerous precedents, the authority of which may be disputed. We will appeal to the most general and important law of the United States, such as it was enacted from the first organization of the government under the Constitution, and to a provision in it, which, under its various other modifications, has uninterruptedly, and without any constitutional objection, remained in force to this day.

The laws to lay and collect duties on imports require, and have always required, a variety of oaths, and particularly that of the importers or consignees, with respect to the correctness of the invoices of goods imported, both as to quantity and as to cost or value. Yet this provision, however useful and important, is not so absolutely necessary, in that strict sense of the word, as that the laws could not possibly be carried into effect without it. There are countries, France for example, where

those duties are efficiently collected without the assistance of similar oaths. This may be done at least as effectually by an appraisement of the merchandise, as by resorting to the oaths of the parties. In point of fact, there has always been a discretionary power to appraise, which has lately been enlarged. Since it is on that provision, and not on the oath, that the ultimate reliance for the faithful collection of the duties is placed, those duties might be collected without the assistance of oaths, by substituting in every instance an appraisement or valuation. Oaths are not, therefore, necessary for the collection of duties, in that strict sense which is contended for: they are not that, without which the duties could not be collected. The observation indeed applies to various other provisions of the revenue laws. Any one who will give them a perusal, will find various provisions, implying powers not specially vested in Congress, the necessity of which was not absolute, and without which the object of the law might still have been effected. The oaths and various other provisions have been resorted to, as means only highly useful, important, and proper, but not as being of *absolute* necessity for carrying the law into effect.

Whenever it becomes the duty of Congress to carry into effect any of the powers expressly defined by the Constitution, it will generally be found that there are several means to effect the object. In that case, and whenever there is an option, each of the means proposed ought not to be successively objected to, as not being strictly necessary because other means might be resorted to, since this mode of arguing would defeat the object intended, and prevent the passage of any law for carrying into effect the power, which it was the duty of Congress to execute. If every provision of a revenue law was successively opposed on that ground, no efficient revenue law could be passed. In the present case, it is proposed to resort, either to a stamp duty or to a Bank of the United States, in order to regulate the currency. That important object will be defeated, if both means are successively objected to, as not strictly necessary, unless some other equally efficient mode can be suggested. But, on the other hand, the means proposed for carrying into effect any special or expressed power vested in Congress, should be highly useful and important, having clearly and bona fide that object in view which is the avowed purpose, and not be intended, under colour of executing a certain special power, for the purpose of effecting another object.

It was on this ground, that the former Bank of the United States was at first opposed. That Bank had not been proposed for the express purpose of regulating the currency, but as incident to the powers of regulating commerce, of collecting the revenue, of the safe keeping of public moneys, and generally, of

carrying on the operations of the Treasury. There had been at that time but three banks established in the United States ; their operations were confined within a very narrow sphere ; there had been no experience in the United States of the utility of a bank in assisting the operations of government, but that which, during a short time, had been afforded by the Bank of North America, incorporated in the first instance, by Congress, under the articles of confederation. The Bank of the United States was considered by its opponents, as not being intended for the purpose alleged, but as having for its object the consolidation of a moneyed aristocracy, and to further the views at that time ascribed to a certain party and to its presumed leader. And the fears then excited respecting that object, and the supposed influence of the Bank in promoting it, though long since dissipated, have left recollections and impressions which may still have some effect on public opinion in relation to the constitutional question.

Experience, however, has since confirmed the great utility and importance of a Bank of the United States, in its connexion with the Treasury. The first great advantage derived from it, consists in the safe keeping of the public moneys, securing, in the first instance, the immediate payment of those received by the principal collectors, and affording a constant check on all their transactions ; and afterwards rendering a defalcation in the moneys once paid, and whilst nominally in the Treasury, absolutely impossible. The next and not less important benefit is to be found in the perfect facility with which all the public payments are made by checks, or Treasury drafts, payable at any place where the Bank has an office ; all those who have demands against government, are paid in the place most convenient to them ; and the public moneys are transferred, through our extensive territory, at a moment's warning, without any risk or expense, to the places most remote from those of collection, and wherever public exigencies may require. From the year 1791 to this day, the operations of the Treasury have, without interruption, been carried on through the medium of banks ; during the years 1811 to 1816, through the state banks ; before and since, through the Bank of the United States. Every individual who has been at the head of that department, and, as we believe, every officer connected with it, has been made sensible of the great difficulties, that must be encountered without the assistance of those institutions, and of the comparative ease and great additional security to the public, with which their public duties are performed through the means of the banks. To insist that the operations of the Treasury may be carried on with equal facility and safety, through the aid of the state banks, without the interposition of a Bank of the United States, would be contrary to

fact and experience. That great assistance was received from the state banks, while there was no other, has always been freely and cheerfully acknowledged. But it is impossible, in the nature of things, that the necessary concert could be made to exist between thirty different institutions; and in some instances, heavy pecuniary losses, well known at the seat of government, have been experienced. To admit, however, that state banks are necessary for that purpose, is to give up the question. To admit that banks are indispensable for carrying into effect the legitimate operations of government, is to admit that Congress has the power to establish a bank. The general government is not made by the Constitution to depend, for carrying into effect powers vested in it, on the uncertain aid of institutions, created by other authorities, and which are not at all under its control. It is expressly authorized to carry those powers into effect by its own means, by passing the laws necessary and proper for that purpose, and in this instance, by establishing its own bank, instead of being obliged to resort to those which derive their existence from another source, and are under the exclusive control of the different states, by which they have been established.

It must at the same time be acknowledged, that, inasmuch as the revenue may be collected, and the public moneys may be kept in the public chests, and transferred to distant places without the assistance of banks; as all this was once done in the United States, and continues to be done in several countries, without any public bank, it cannot be asserted, that those institutions are absolutely necessary for those purposes, if we take the word "necessary" in that strict sense which has been alluded to. All this may be done, though with a greater risk, and in a more inconvenient and expensive manner. Public chests might be established, and public receivers, or sub-treasurers, might be appointed in the same places where there are now offices of the Bank of the United States, and specie might be transported from place to place, as the public service required it, or inland bills of exchange purchased from individuals. The superior security and convenience afforded by the bank, in the fiscal operations of government, may not be considered as sufficient to make its establishment constitutional, in the opinion of those who construe the word "necessary" in that strict sense.

But it is far from being on that ground alone, that the question of constitutionality is now placed. It was not at all anticipated, at the time when the former Bank of the United States was first proposed, and when constitutional objections were raised against it, that bank notes issued by multiplied state banks, gradually superseding the use of gold and silver, would become the general currency of the country. The effect of the few

banks then existing, had not been felt beyond the three cities where they had been established. The states were forbidden by the Constitution to issue bills of credit: bank notes are bills of credit to all intents and purposes; and the state could not do, through others, what it was not authorized to do itself: but the bank notes, not being issued on the credit of the states, nor guaranteed by them, were not considered as being, under the Constitution, bills of credit emitted by the states. Subsequent events have shown, that the notes of state banks, pervading the whole country, might produce the very effect which the Constitution had intended to prevent, by prohibiting the emission of bills of credit by any state. The injustice to individuals, the embarrassments of government, the depreciation of the currency, its want of uniformity, the moral necessity imposed on the community, either to receive that unsound currency, or to suspend every payment, purchase, sale, or other transaction, incident to the wants of society, all the evils which followed the suspension of specie payments, have been as great, if not greater, than those which might have been inflicted by a paper currency, issued under the authority of any state. We have already adverted to the several provisions of the Constitution, which gave to Congress the right, and imposed on it the duty to provide a remedy; but there is one which deserves special consideration.

Whatever consequences may have attended the suspension of specie payments in Great Britain, there still remained one currency which regulated all the others. All the country bankers were compelled to pay their own notes, if not in specie, at least in notes of the Bank of England. These notes were, as a standard of value, substituted for gold: and, if the currency of the country was depreciated, and fluctuating in value from time to time, it was at the same time uniform throughout the country. There was but one currency for the whole, and every variation in its value was uniform as to places, and at the same moment operated in the same manner every where. But the currency of the United States, or, to speak more correctly, of the several states, varied, during the suspension of specie payments, not only from time to time, but at the same time from state to state, and in the same state from place to place. In New-England, where those payments were not discontinued, the currency was equal in value to specie: it was, at the same time, at a discount of seven per cent. in New-York and Charleston, of fifteen in Philadelphia, of twenty and twenty-five in Baltimore and Washington, with every other possible variation in other places and states.

The currency of the United States, in which the public and private debts were paid, and the public revenue collected, not only was generally depreciated, but was also defective in respect

to uniformity. Independent of all the other clauses in the Constitution which relate to that subject, it is specially provided, 1st, that all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United states; 2d, that, representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states, according to their respective numbers, to be determined by the rule therein specified; and that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the enumeration. Both these provisions were violated whilst the suspension of specie payments continued. It is clear, that after the quota of the direct tax of each state had been determined, according to the rule prescribed by the Constitution, it was substantially changed by being collected in currencies differing in value in the several states. It is not less clear, that the clause which prescribes a uniformity of duties, imposts, and excises, was equally violated by collecting every description of indirect duties and taxes in currencies of different value. The only remedy existing at that time, was the permission to pay direct and indirect taxes in treasury notes. But those notes did not pervade every part of the country in the same manner as bank notes; they were of too high denomination to be used in the payment of almost any internal tax; they were liable also to vary in value in the different states; and they could operate as a remedy, only as long as their depreciation was greater than that of the most depreciated notes in circulation.

We will now ask, whether, independent of every other consideration, Congress was not authorized and bound to pass the laws necessary and proper for carrying into effect, with good faith, those provisions of the Constitution? and whether that could or can be done, in any other manner than, either by reverting to a purely metallic, or by substituting a uniform paper currency to that which had proved so essentially defective in that respect, and which, from its not being subject to one and the same control, is, and for ever will be, liable to that defect? The uniformity of duties and taxes of every description, whether internal or external, direct or indirect, is an essential and fundamental principle of the Constitution. It is self-evident, that that uniformity cannot be carried into effect without a corresponding uniformity of currency. Without laws to this effect, it is absolutely impossible that the taxes and duties should be uniform, as the Constitution prescribes: such laws are therefore necessary and proper in the most strict sense of the words. There are but two means of effecting the object, a metallic, or a uniform paper currency. Congress has the option of either; and either of the two, which may appear the most eligible, will be strictly constitutional, because strictly necessary and proper for carrying into effect the object. If a currency exclusively metallic is preferred, the object will be attained by laying prohibitory stamp

duties on bank notes of every description, and without exception. If it is deemed more eligible, under existing circumstances, instead of subverting the whole banking system of the United States, and depriving the community of the accommodations which bank loans afford, to resort to less harsh means; recourse must be had to such, as will insure a currency sound and uniform itself, and at the same time check and regulate that which will continue to constitute the greater part of the currency of the country.

Both those advantages were anticipated in the establishment of the Bank of the United States; and it appears to us that the bank fulfils both those conditions. As respects the past, it is a matter of fact, that specie payments were restored and have been maintained through the instrumentality of that institution. It gives a complete guarantee, that under any circumstances, its notes will preserve the same uniformity which they now possess. Placed under the control of the general government, relying for its existence on the correctness, prudence, and skill with which it shall be administered, perpetually watched and occasionally checked by both the Treasury Department and rival institutions; and without a monopoly, yet with a capital and resources adequate to the object for which it was established; the bank also affords the strongest security which can be given with respect to paper, not only for its ultimate solvency, but also for the uninterrupted soundness of its currency. The statements we have given of its progressive and present situation, show how far those expectations have heretofore been realized.

Those statements also show, that the Bank of the United States, wherever its operations have been extended, has effectually checked excessive issues on the part of the state banks, if not in every instance, certainly in the aggregate. They had been reduced, before the year 1820, from sixty-six to less than forty millions. At that time, those of the Bank of the United States fell short of four millions. The increased amount required by the increase of population and wealth during the ten ensuing years, has been supplied in a much greater proportion by that bank than by those of the states. With a treble capital, they have added little more than eight millions to their issues. Those of the Bank of the United States were nominally twelve, in reality about eleven millions greater in November 1829, than in November 1819. The whole amount of the paper currency has, during those ten years, increased about forty-five, and that portion which is issued by the state banks only twenty-two and a half per cent. We have indeed a proof, not very acceptable perhaps to the bank, but conclusive of the fact, that it has performed the office required of it in that respect. The general complaints, on the part of many of the state banks, that they

are checked and controlled in their operations by the bank of the United States, that, to use a common expression, it operates as a screw, is the best evidence that its general operation is such as had been intended. It was for that very purpose that the bank was established. We are not, however, aware that a single solvent bank has been injured by that of the United States, though many have undoubtedly been restrained in the extent of their operations, much more than was desirable to them. This is certainly inconvenient to some of the banks, but in its general effects is a public benefit to the community.

The best way to judge whether, in performing that unpopular duty, the Bank of the United States has checked the operations of the state banks more than was necessary, and has abused, in order to enrich itself at their expense, the power which was given for another purpose, is to compare their respective situation in the aggregate. In order to avoid any erroneous inference, we will put out of question those banks of which we could only make an estimate, and compare, with that of the United States, those only of which we had actual returns.

The profit of banks, beyond the interest on their own capital, consists in that which they receive on the difference between the aggregate of their deposits and notes in circulation, and the amount of specie in their vaults. We have given the aggregate situation for the end of the year 1829 of 281 banks with a capital of 94,245,650 dollars, the deposits and circulating notes of which amounted together to - - - - - \$71,275,504 from which deducting the specie in their vaults, 11,919,353

leaves for the said difference, - - - - - \$59,356,151

or $64\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on their capital.

The notes in circulation of the Bank of the United States (deducting two millions for those in transitu, and adding one million for its drafts in circulation) amounted in November 1829, to \$14,844,984, and together with the deposits, to \$29,623,793 from which deducting the specie in its vaults, - - 7,175,274

leaves for the difference - - - - - 22,448,519

or $64\frac{1}{7}$ on its capital.

It is clear that those state banks, taken in the aggregate, have no just reason to complain, since that of the United States imposes no greater restraints on them than on itself. It will also be perceived that it had in specie, more than one-fifth part of the aggregate of its notes in circulation and deposits; whilst the state banks had little more than one-eighth; and the Bank of the United States had in addition a fund of about one million of dol-

lars in Europe. The difference would have been more striking, had we taken a view of the situation of all the state banks, including those on estimate; for the difference between the aggregate of their notes and deposits, and their specie, is 67½ on their capital.

This view of the subject applies to the present time, when the Bank of the United States has surmounted the difficulties which it had, in its first origin, to encounter, and has reached a high degree of prosperity. It did not go into operation till the commencement of the year 1817, and such were the losses which it first experienced, that its dividends, during the first six years of its existence, fell short of 3½ per cent. a year. The dividend has since gradually increased from 5 to 7 per cent.; but the average, during the thirteen years and a half ending on the 1st of July 1830, has been but $4\frac{88}{100}$ per cent. a year. An annual dividend of about 9 per cent., during the residue of the time to which the charter is limited, would be necessary, in order that the stockholders should then have received, on an average, 6 per cent. a year on their capital. The dividends of the state banks vary too much, and our returns are too imperfect in that respect, to enable us to estimate the average; but it has certainly far exceeded that of the Bank of the United States.

The manner in which the Bank checks the issues of the state banks is equally simple and obvious. It consists in receiving the notes of all those which are solvent, and requiring payment from time to time, without suffering the balance due by any to become too large. Those notes on hand, taking the average of the three and a half last years, amount always to about a million and a half of dollars; and the balances due by the banks in account current (deducting balances due to some) to about nine hundred thousand. We think that we may say, that, on this operation, which requires particular attention and vigilance, and must be carried on with great firmness and due forbearance, depends almost exclusively the stability of the currency of the country.

The President of the United States has expressed the opinion, that the bank had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency, and has suggested the expediency of establishing "a National Bank, founded upon the credit of the government and its revenues." He has clearly seen, that the uniformity of the currency was a fundamental principle derived from the Constitution, and that this, unless the United States reverted to a purely metallic currency, could not be effected without the aid of a National Bank. But it appears to us, that the objection of want of uniformity, which may be supported in one sense, though not in the constitutional sense of the word, applies generally to a paper currency, and not particularly to that which is issued by the Bank of the United States. And although

we are clearly of opinion, that the United States at large are entitled to the pecuniary profit arising from the substitution of a paper, for a metallic currency, we are not less convinced, that this object can not be attained in a more eligible way and more free of objections, than through the medium of a National Bank, constituted on the same principles as that now existing. On both those topics we will make but few observations, those branches of the subject having been nearly exhausted, in their report, by the Committee of the House of Representatives.

It has already been observed, that the substitution of paper to gold and silver is a national benefit, in as far as it brings into activity an additional circulating capital, equal to the difference between the amount of paper, and that of the reserve in specie necessary to sustain the par value of that paper. But it is clear, that the community derives no other immediate benefit from the substitution, than the accommodations which the banks are thereby enabled to afford, and for which the borrowers pay the usual rate of interest. The immediate profit derived from the paper currency, is received exclusively by the banks; about three-fourths by the state banks, and one-fourth by that of the United States. So far as relates to profit, it is only to that one-fourth part of the whole, that the measures of the general government are intended to apply. Several of the states, by levying a tax on the capital or on the dividends of their own banks, receive the public share of those profits. Other states have resorted to the mode suggested by the President, and have established banks of the state exclusively founded on its resources and revenue.

The proposition has not been suggested to resort to a third, though the most simple mode, that of issuing, without the aid or machinery of any bank whatever, a government paper payable on demand in specie. We unite in considering it altogether inadmissible. Government may put its paper in circulation by lending it, like banks, to individuals; and this is, in fact, the proposition which has been suggested. But unless this mode is adopted, to issue paper in any other way, is to borrow money; and the United States at this time wish to discharge and not to contract a debt. Nor would such a paper, without a mixture of banking operations, control in the least the issues of state banks, and assist in establishing a general sound currency.

The general objections to a paper issued by government, have already been stated at large. Yet it must be admitted, that there may be times when every other consideration must yield to the superior necessity of saving or defending the country. If there ever was a time, or a cause which justified a resort to that measure, it was the war of the independence. It would be doing gross injustice to the authors of the revolution and founders of that independence, to confound them with those governments, which

from ambitious views have, without necessity, inflicted that calamity on their subjects. The old Congress, as the name purports, were only an assembly of plenipotentiaries, delegated by the several colonies or states. They could only recommend, and had not the power, to lay taxes; the country was comparatively poor; extraordinary exertions were necessary to resist the formidable power of Great Britain; those exertions were made, and absorbed all the local resources; the paper money carried the United States through the most arduous and perilous stages of the war; and, though operating as a most unequal tax, it cannot be denied that it saved the country. Mr. Jefferson was strongly impressed with the recollection of those portentous times, when, in the latter end of the year 1814, he suggested the propriety of a gradual issue, by government, of two hundred millions of dollars in paper. He had, from the imperfect data in his possession, greatly overrated the amount of paper currency which could be sustained at par; and he had, on the other hand, underrated the great expenses of the war. Yet we doubt whether, in the state to which the banks and the currency had been reduced, much greater issues of Treasury notes, or other paper not convertible at will into specie, would not have become necessary, if the war had been of much longer continuance. It is to be hoped that a similar state of things will not again occur; but at all events, the issue of a government paper ought to be kept in reserve for extraordinary exigencies.

The proposition then recurs, to issue a paper currency payable on demand in specie, through the medium of a bank, founded on the revenue of the United States; or, in other words, to convert the general government, or its treasury department, into a banking institution. The experiment has been made in four of the states, and may have succeeded on a smaller scale, and where all the agents are personally known to government, and are not in name, but in reality, under its immediate superintendence. But if thirty-five millions of dollars are to be placed at the disposal of three hundred bank directors, selected by the government of the United States, and living in twenty-five different states or territories, with the authority to contract debts in behalf of the public to an equal amount, and to lend the whole to individuals at their discretion; we must inquire, how and over whom that enormous power will be exercised. However they may have differed with respect to removals from office, the various administrations, with some exceptions, commanded by the public interest, have all preferred, in appointing to office, their friends to their opponents; and in making the selections at a distance, there is not, perhaps, out of ten officers who are appointed, one who is personally known either to the President or to any of the heads of the departments. It is morally impossible

that the direction of the branches of the proposed bank should not fall into the hands of men generally selected from political considerations. Without salary, or any personal interest in the concern intrusted to their care, they would also be altogether irresponsible. The duties of the other officers of government may always be, and always are, defined by law: for any wilful official misconduct, for any act of oppression towards individuals, they may be prosecuted and punished. But the power vested in a bank director is in its nature discretionary, and error of judgment may always be plead, for having improperly granted or withdrawn an accommodation. The exercise of that arbitrary power over the property and private concerns of individuals would be so odious, that, if the attempt was made, we are confident that it would not be long tolerated. Considered as a source of profit, which is its only recommendation, it is equally obvious, that the plan could not succeed; that whenever there was a temporary pressure, and what is called a want of money, the debtors would ask and obtain relief, and that the same measure of indulgence would gradually be extended to every quarter of the Union. It seems indeed self-evident, that a government, constituted like that of the United States, cannot by itself manage and control a banking system spread over their extensive territory; and we know, on the other hand, that the same object may be attained through the means of a bank governed and controlled as that of the United States. It may be added, that, if an objection is raised against that institution, because the power to incorporate a bank is not expressly granted by the Constitution, it appears to be equally applicable to the plan that has been suggested; since there is no clause in that instrument, that expressly authorizes the government of the United States to discount the notes of individuals, or to become a trading company.

The United States are, however, justly entitled to participate in the advantages which the bank derives from its charter, by being permitted to issue paper, and to extend its operations over the whole country; and that institution must also be allowed, in addition to the usual interest on its capital, a reasonable profit; since it incurs all the risks, and is liable for all the losses incident to those operations. The government receives already a portion of the profits, in the shape of those services, which are rendered here gratuitously, and form in England no inconsiderable part of the benefit allowed to the bank. But for the residue, we would prefer to a bonus, either a moderate interest on the public deposits, or a participation in the dividends when exceeding a certain rate. There can be no doubt, that, independent of perfect security, the United States would, in that way, derive

greater pecuniary advantages, than from any bank managed by its own officers.

In order to attain perfect uniformity, the value of a paper currency should, in the United States, be always the same as that of the gold and silver coins, of which it takes the place. It is impossible to fulfil that condition better, than by making that currency payable on demand in specie and at par. This cannot be done but at certain places designated for that purpose. The holder of a bank note cannot, at any other place, give such note in payment of a debt, or exchange it for specie, without the consent of another party. Strictly speaking, it is not, therefore, at any other place, of the same value with specie. This is equally true of any bank note, or convertible paper, in any other country. A note of the Bank of England, being only payable in London, will not be of the same value with gold or silver in Scotland, Ireland, or even at Liverpool, unless the exchange between those places respectively and London should be at par. This defect is inherent to every species of paper currency, even when payable on demand. There were three hundred and twenty-nine state banks, and twenty-two offices of the Bank of the United States, in operation on the 1st of January, 1830. We had therefore three hundred and fifty-one distinct currencies, all convertible into specie, but each at different places. A note of the Bank of the United States, or of the Bank of North America, both payable at Philadelphia, was no more exchangeable for gold or silver, at Bedford, in Pennsylvania, than at Cincinnati; the only difference consisting in the greater distance from the place of payment, which renders a fluctuation in the rate of exchange more probable. When, therefore, it is objected as a want of uniformity, that the notes issued by the Bank of the United States, and its several offices, are not indiscriminately made payable at every one of those places, the objection does not go far enough. In order to attain perfect uniformity, or to render those notes every where precisely equal in value to specie, they should be made payable at every town or village in the United States. But, although it may be admitted, that the notes of the Bank of the United States now consist nominally of twenty-four currencies, each payable at a distinct place, they still fulfil the condition of uniformity required by the Constitution; and the defect complained of is not peculiar to them, but would equally attach to any other possible species of bank notes or paper currency.

Those notes, wherever made payable, are, by the charter, receivable in all payments to the United States: and as the bank is obliged, without any allowance on account of difference of exchange, to transfer the public funds from place to place within the United States, any loss arising from that cause falls on the

institution. For that purpose, therefore, all the notes issued by the bank constitute but one uniform currency, with which all the duties, taxes, imposts, and excises, may be paid. Not only the condition of uniformity imposed by the Constitution is strictly fulfilled, but by far the greater part of the notes which may happen to circulate out of the states in which they are made payable, is also absorbed by that operation. The objection is reduced to the simple fact, that individuals who may still hold such notes, cannot always exchange them at par at a place distant from that where they are payable. In answer to this, it must, in the first place, be observed, that notes are never found in that situation, but by the act of the parties themselves. The bank and its offices never issue or make payments in notes payable at another place than that of issue, but at the request of individuals, whose convenience it may suit to apply for such notes. Through whatever channel a man residing in New-Orleans may have come in possession of ten thousand dollars in notes payable at Charleston, it has always been with his own consent, and never by the act of the bank. When this objection is made, what in fact is complained of, is, that the bank will not, or cannot, transfer the funds of individuals, as well as those of the public, from place to place, gratuitously ; an operation which has no connexion with the uniformity of currency. Supposing there were no bank notes in circulation, and there was no other but a uniform metallic currency, the man who had taken a cargo of flour from Louisville to New-Orleans, must, in order to transfer the proceeds back to Louisville, either have purchased a bill of exchange, or transported the specie. This he may still do, since the institution of the bank ; and he has no more right to ask from the office at New-Orleans, to give him, in exchange for the specie, bank notes payable at Louisville, than to require that it should pay the freight of his flour from Louisville to New-Orleans.

But supposing there was any weight in the objection, it is inherent to the nature of a paper, which cannot, in that respect, be made better than a metallic currency. If A contracts to pay a certain sum to B, it must be at a certain specified place. He cannot engage to do it at five or six different places, at the option of B, since it would compel him to provide funds at all those different places, and therefore to five or six times the amount of his debt. It is true, that the Bank of the United States has, through its extensive dealings in exchange, facilities to give accommodations in that respect, which no individual can have. But it is its interest to extend, as far as is safe and practicable, the circulation of its notes ; and one of the best means to effect that object, is to pay every where their notes, wherever issued, whenever that is practicable. The five dollar notes are already

made thus payable ; and, in reality, payment of notes of every denomination, wherever made payable, is rarely refused at any of the offices. The bank may be safely trusted for giving the greatest possible extension to a species of accommodation, which it is its interest to give : but the condition can never be made obligatory, either on that institution, or on any other bank, by whatever name designated, or on whatever principle constituted, without endangering its safety. It is obvious, that no bank which has branches, can have funds at every place sufficient to meet a sudden demand for the payment of a large amount of notes payable elsewhere, which may fortuitously or designedly have accumulated at some one place. Even supposing this to be practicable, the condition imposed must necessarily occasion an additional expense, much greater than the benefit derived from it; and if this was done through the means of a bank founded on the public revenue, it would be a tax laid on the community, for the advantage of a few individuals.

A similar objection has been made with respect to the dealings in domestic exchange of the bank. These consist of two correlative but distinct operations. The bank purchases at Philadelphia, and at every one of its offices, bills of exchange payable at different dates, and on all parts of the United States where there are such offices ; and the bank and its offices sell their drafts on each other, payable at sight. The amount of both has been progressively increasing, to the great convenience of the public. That of bills of exchange was 29,335,254, and that of bank drafts 24,384,232 dollars, during the year 1829. In the same year the transfers of public moneys, which are effected by treasury drafts, analogous to bills of exchange at sight, have amounted to 9,066,000 dollars. The three items together make a total of 62,785,486 dollars, transmitted by the bank in one year, through the medium of bills and drafts, which are thus substituted to the transportation of specie to the same amount. The purchase of bills of exchange is an operation similar, as relates to interest, to the discounting of notes. The interest accruing, from the time of purchase or discount to that when they become due, is equally allowed in both cases. Deducting this, the gross profit, on the purchase of bills, arising from the rate of exchange at which they were purchased, amounted in the year 1829 to 227,224 dollars, or less than three-fourths per cent. The premiums on the sale of bank drafts amounted to 42,826 dollars ; but to this must be added the interest accruing on the drafts actually in circulation, and which, estimating, as before stated, the time during which, on an average, they remain so, at fifteen days, amounts to near sixty-one thousand dollars. The profit on those drafts is therefore near one hundred and four thousand dollars, or about three-sevenths per cent. The interest lost by the bank on the

treasury drafts, is from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars ; and the charges for transportation of specie, postage, and incidental expenses, amounted, in the year 1829, to 49,847 dollars. The nett profit of the bank, on the aggregate of those transactions, is, therefore, about two hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars, or a fraction more than two-fifths per cent. on the whole amount.

There is not, it is believed, a single country where the community is, in that respect, served with less risk or expense. It is obvious that no one will sell his bills to the bank, unless that institution purchases them at a higher, or at least as high rate as any other person ; and that no one will purchase its drafts, unless they are as cheap as any others at market, or are considered safer. There is no other ground of complaint, unless it be that the bank can afford to purchase bills dearer, and to sell its drafts cheaper, than any body else. This is certainly a public benefit ; and the only consideration which has been urged with some degree of plausibility, is, that one of the reasons which enables it to obtain a higher price for its drafts, is the greater degree of security which they offer ; whilst, at the same time, its peculiar situation would enable it to sell them cheaper than other persons. Without admitting the validity of this observation, or denying that the current rate of exchange ought to regulate the price of those drafts, we would wish that they might be sold at par, whenever it happens that the operation, from the situation of its funds, is in no degree inconvenient to the bank. Government receives its full share of the profits on those operations. As its business is done gratuitously, it not only saves the interest as above stated, but also the premium which it would otherwise have to pay on the sale of its drafts. This, calculated at the same rate as for other bills of exchange, would amount to more than seventy, and together with the interest, to about ninety thousand dollars.

We have also heard complaints made against the purchase of foreign bills by the bank at the south, and the sale of their own bills on Europe at the east. That this may interfere with the business of capitalists who deal in exchange, is true ; but the only public consideration seems to be, whether the bank confers a benefit on the southern planters or merchants, by entering into competition for the purchase of their bills, and on the public by offering for sale cheaper or safer means of making remittances abroad. That branch of business, either for the year 1829, or for the average of that and the two preceding years, amounted to 3,580,000 dollars.

The principal advantages derived from the Bank of the United States, which no state bank, and, as it appears to us, no bank established on different principles could afford, are, therefore : First and principally ; securing with certainty a uniform, and, as far as paper can, a sound currency : Secondly ; the complete

security and great facility it affords to government in its fiscal operations: Thirdly; the great convenience and benefit accruing to the community, from its extensive transactions in domestic bills of exchange and inland drafts. We have not adverted to the aid which may be expected from that institution in time of war, and which should, we think, be confined to two objects.

First. The experience of the last war has sufficiently proved, that an efficient revenue must be provided, before, or immediately after that event takes place. Resort must be had, for that purpose, to a system of internal taxation, not engrafted on taxes previously existing, but which must be at once created. The utmost diligence and skill cannot render such new taxes productive before twelve or eighteen months. The estimated amount must be anticipated; and advances to that extent, including at least the estimated proceeds of one year of all the additional taxes laid during the war, may justly be expected from the Bank of the United States.

Secondly. It will also be expected, that it will powerfully assist in raising the necessary loans, not by taking up, on its own account, any sum beyond what may be entirely convenient and consistent with the safety and primary object of the institution, but by affording facilities to the money lenders. Those, who, in the first instance, subscribe to a public loan, do not intend to keep the whole, but expect to distribute it gradually with a reasonable profit. The greatest inducement, in order to obtain loans on moderate terms, consists in the probability that, if that distribution proceeds slower than had been anticipated, the subscribers will not be compelled, in order to pay their instalments, to sell the stock, and, by glutting the market, to sell it at a loss: and the assistance expected from the bank is to advance, on a deposit of the scrip, after the two first instalments have been paid, such portions of each succeeding payment, as may enable the subscribers to hold the stock a reasonable length of time. As this operation may be renewed annually, on each successive loan, whilst the war continues, the aid afforded in that manner is far more useful than large direct advances to government, which always cripple the resources, and may endanger the safety of the bank.

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